Cultural Forum

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CULTURAL FORUM

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Editor's Note

Nowhere in the world has the incarnate Divine desire' taken a form so sweet so enchanting and yet so powerful as that in Shri Krishna No wonder that we in India call him a *purnavatara*—the descent of the Divine in all its glory His personality is so elusive that mind cannot conceive it and to say that he is the delineation of the *Purna* is again just a phrase which fails to signify a Person who again is not a Person a king maker who was never a king a fearless fighter astute politician the Lord of all Yoga *lokanayaka* the darling of Nand Yoshoda and the Gopis the beloved of one and all and yet hated by many of his contemporaries as a partisan and a non-too scrupulous diplomat But in a country where the philosophy of monism declares that nothing exists outside the Divine and sings of God as thou art mercy and thou art cruelty the many facets of Krishna s personality do not seem at all contradictory Later the Yadava becomes the Abhira the Yogi becomes a reckless and unabashed lover and yet it is the same Krishna

It is difficult to say how the Krishna of the *Mahabharata* evolved into the Krishna of the *Puranas* and poetry sculpture and painting—the *chakrapani* becoming the object of *Madhura bhakti* the *adharam madhuram vadanam madhuram* of Vallabhacharya With the emergence of Radha in the Krishna lore a new intensity of passionate longing was born and new episodes were added to the main theme and from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century the love of Radha and Krishna was immortalised through painting sculpture and dance with so much feeling and tenderness that it has no parallel anywhere

Radha and Krishna it seems represent the *saguna* of an age when the feudal states provided that background of silence and

A SYMPOSIUM

The Krishna Theme in Indian Art

THE BEST OF LOVERS

Mulk Raj Anand

Of Names and Forms

Out of the impulses, desires and insights of the psyche arises the myth, a subtle ambivalent image of which the nuances insinuate themselves into the human frame, even as the stirrings of rhythm move into the nerves tendons and muscles

The broodings of men in the small one dimensional world of earlier times, seem to have given rise to images through the phantasmagoria of invisible presences The childman projects his phantoms and gives the names to forms and substances and shapes of things unknown In this way every tree has a spirit and every mountain a daemon and every wave of the rushing waters is a mermaid Thus the dryads the fauns, the nymphs the dwarfs and the hobgoblins have accrued to us from the confrontation by man of his surroundings which he must absorb into himself, either by worship or appeasement, or by exorcism of the weight of these spirits through his own soul The animation of human energies and of universal powers as well as other essences represents the primary phase of the workings of the creative imagination of the folk

Birth of a Symbol

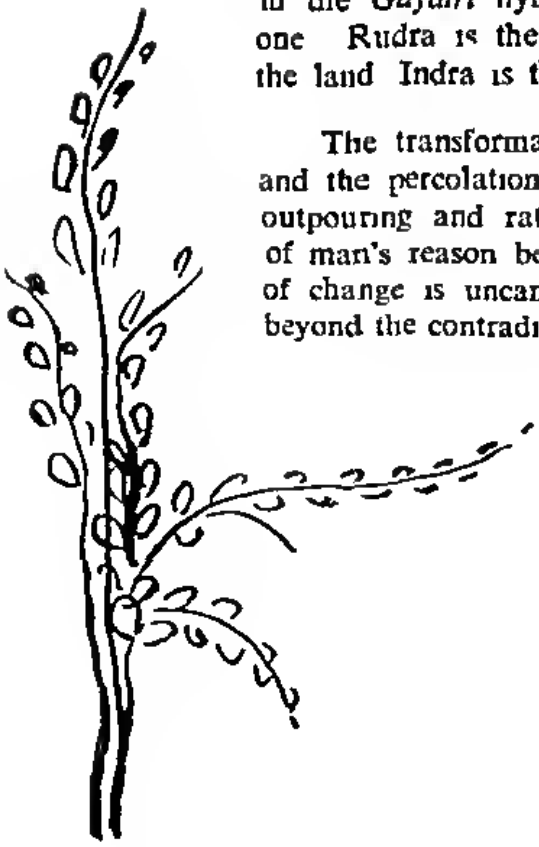
In the known history of various human orders, there seems to have been spells of intense awareness The poet inebriated by the vital urges of his confused soul, resurrects from the amalgam of inherited myths, and his own discontent the courage to project himself in certain metaphors which coincide with the aspirations of other men and women The elements are more or less from our pre-historic past Man himself, woman whom he desires, nature in its various manifestations, and death, which offers the enigma of passing away into nothingness, and the problem of survival of the soul, therefore, entail comprehension of phenomena and the establishment of cosmogonies

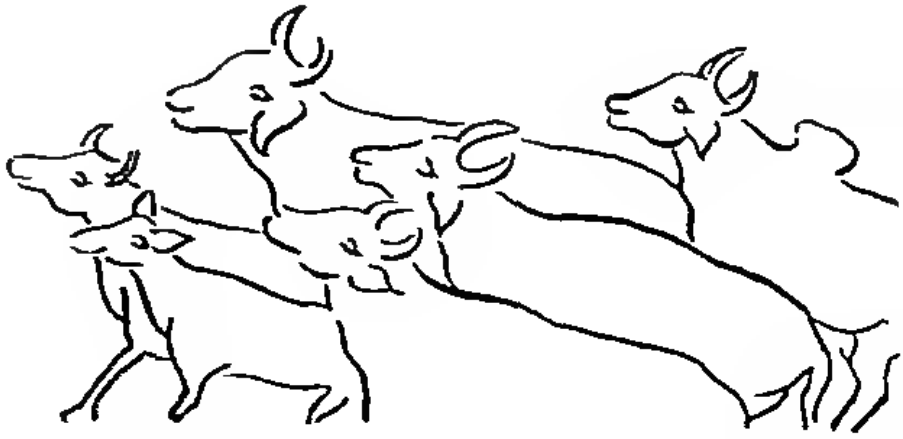
Aod thus the old myths are either taken over, or renewed into new symbols, which being potentially richer in suggestive power and more useful, acquire the residuary light of new awareness

Old Myths and New

The nature gods whom the wandering, nomadic herdsmen of the Vedic Aryan stock conjured up, are personifications of this kind Varuna the sky god seems to be compounded of the image of the inverted bowl of the sky, as well as the mounds of the mother's breasts a venture into two dimensions the earth and the heavens, beyond the single dimension envisaged by the hunters of the stone age Usha, the dawn is the eternal first morning of the world Surya, the Sun god is the fire which permeates the whole of life and makes everything glow with light and whose sound in the *Gayatri* hymn makes for communion between the many and the one Rudra is the demon god of the violent storms which sweep across the land Indra is thunder incarnate

The transformation of the old myths the creation of new metaphors and the percolation of knowledge from instinctive realisation to emotional outpouring and rationalisation, seems to be as slow as the development of man's reason beyond the uprushes of the metabolism The dialectic of change is uncanny with its sudden jump of appreciation of qualities beyond the contradiction of quantities The dim perception has to be ignited





under conditions which cannot be foretold, because of the incomprehension about the many elements that work to produce a given image In fact, the ebb and flow of all matter, including the mind, is the most enduring factor in our experience Time, the refreshing river, does not reveal mechanical progress The life of every human being entails physical growth, maturity and decay, but shows no direct progress from father to son, often revealing relapse The dim heredities have to be awakened by deliberate cultivation, through teaching the fundamentals to every child and a tremendous amount of effort is necessary to release the insights embedded in the body and to fuse them with the organic inflow of new awarenesses

Man therefore, oscillates between the old myth and the new myth

The Mystery of Desire

The myth of Krishna personifies the slow emergence of desire itself, from the earliest expression of the creative faculties, through the deliberate projection of sex energies in the phallic cults of the 'naked goddess' with the emphasised pudenda, to the wild abandon of a cowherd boy as hero and illicit lover, exalted as the Supreme god, omnipotent, omnipresent and all sometimes forgotten, but resurrected again and again as the sublimation of the eternal pull and tension of the male and female in the *lila* of this variegated cotourful and rich illusion of substances called the Universe

In the world before the flood, when the Ganga flowed to the West, and not to the East, the movement of man across the landscapes was in search of food and his own identity The isolation of man was thus brought into relief against the security of finding himself complete with woman The unconscious expression of polarity resulted in the child The family merged into the groups And the whole of the clan worshipped the Mother, from whom everyone had sprung As the concrete had to be abstracted, the holy triangle became the symbol of the vital force of creativity

The transmutation of the Mother Goddess into the Babua of ancient Egypt of the Isis of the Greeks and the 'shameless woman' of India witnesses to the different proclivities of the tribes inhibited by a local sense, which was itself dependent on the struggle to live with their own gods who were superior to the divinities of the others

One can only speculate about the internal process of change of images from one human order to another from one generation to another and from one age to a different time But the primordial fact of procreation remains eternal And we find that whatever ritual was evolved by the top hierarchies the ebullitions from the hot blood of youth always inspired concentration on the secret urgings which keeps man s nights awake The primitive bard the maker of terracotta toys and the magician all invented songs totems and love philters to instigate the suppressed longings into expression

There is no doubt that the most enchanting daemon of early man is himself in the sexual act albeit not talked about in the routine life except as a joke but always coming back in the dreams

The most vital reckless and unabashed expressionist lover in those complexes tends to become the hero

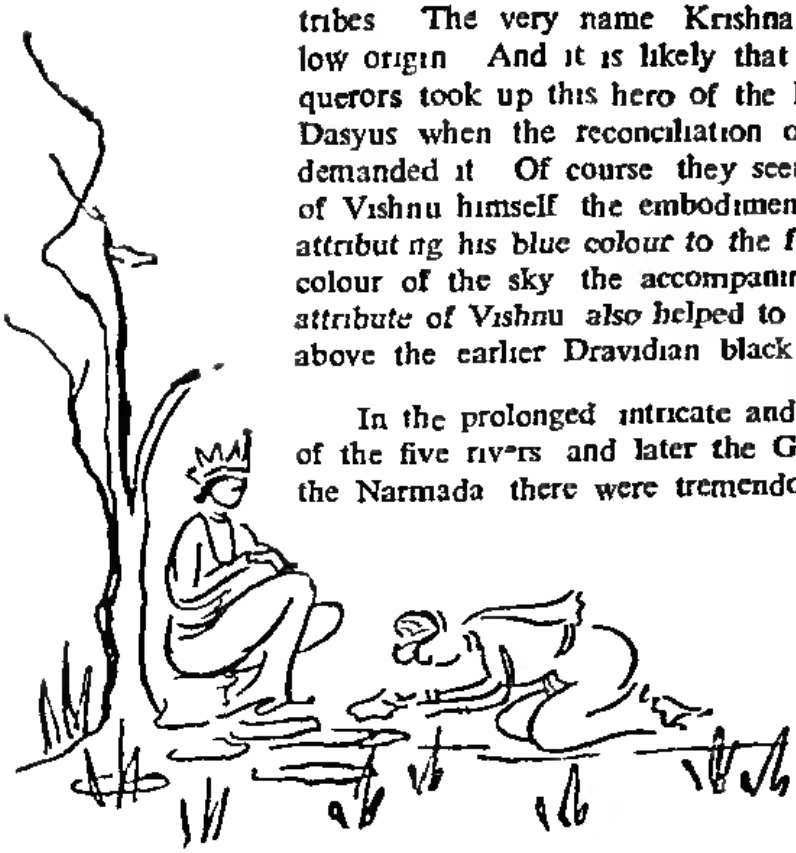
The passage of time brings legendary qualities to bear on his personality and the hero soon emerges as hero god

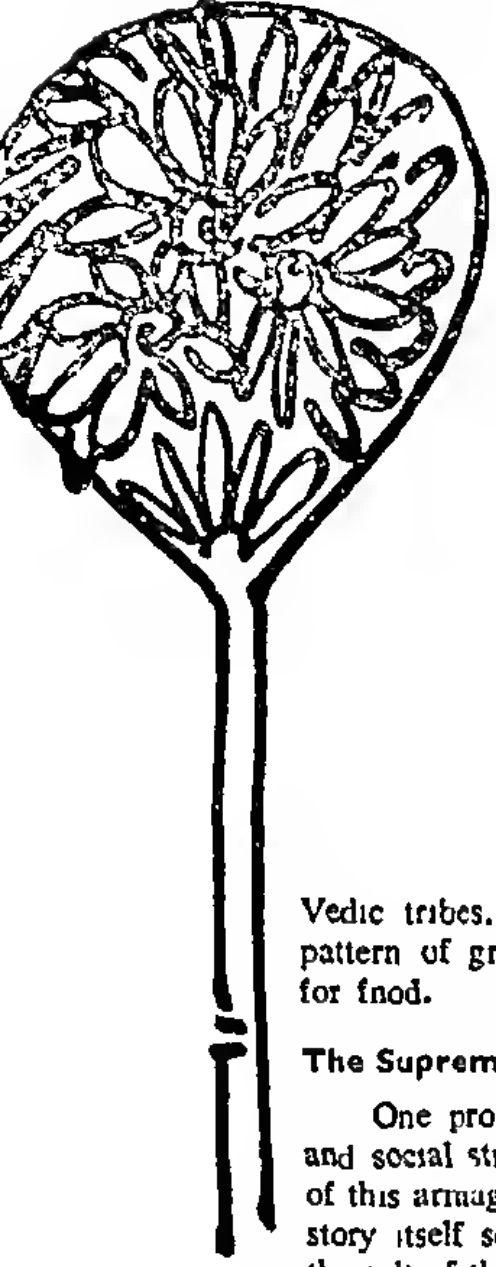
This transfiguration seems to have brought about the straoge phenomena of Krishna from a vague legend of the forest books and made him inear nate in various disguises by later sensibilities for more thao two thousaod years

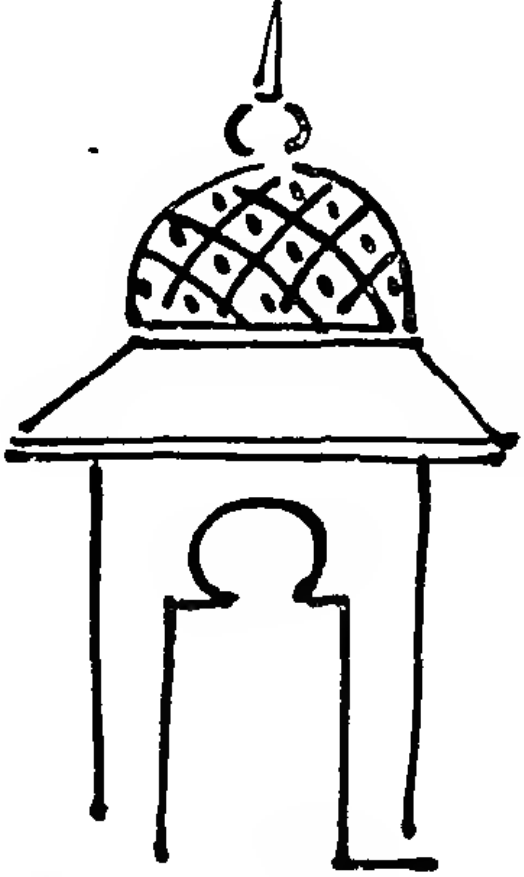
Krishna the Dark One

Blue mauve dark grey and vivid brown he seems to have emerged from the forests as perhaps the most divine of men among the cowherd tribes The very name Krishna meaning dark bears testimony to his low origin And it is likely that the upper hierarchies of the Aryan con querors took up this hero of the Dravidians in the attempt to appease the Dasyus when the reconciliation of the lower people to the caste order demanded it Of course they seem to have exalted him as an incarnation of Vishnu himself the embodiment of the Sun and made him popular by attributing his blue colour to the fact that he was born at midnight The colour of the sky the accompaniment of the blessed Sun which was the attribute of Vishnu also helped to make Krishna honoured in the pantheon above the earlier Dravidian black coloured cowboy

In the prolonged intricate and troubled age of pacification of the land of the five rivers and later the Ganges delta as well as the lands above the Narmada there were tremendous happenings internecine wars of the







Vedic tribes, the stabilisation of various orders, and the evolution of a pattern of growth, from the nomadic stage to the cultivation of the soil for food.

The Supreme God-hero of Mahabharata

One prolonged giant conflict, with the incidental aspects of a political and social struggle, is recorded in the epic *Mahabharata* The possible date of this armagedon has been put, variously, between 1400 to 1000 B C The story itself seems to have been compiled over the centuries, during which the salt of the tongue of each successive bard, may have added a description which altered the original

Surprisingly, the legendary love god of the *Dasyus* the dark Krishna, appears as the incarnation of the Supreme God hero about the third century B C, as the arbiter of the destinies of the two warring factions in his role as a partisan of the five Pandu princes in revolt against the established monarch, their uncle, Dhritarashtra, and his hundred sons of whom Yudhishthira is the eldest And apart from his role as a morale builder, military adviser, and philosopher, he reappears in a later appendix to the epic *Mahabharata*, in the little tract, entitled the *Gita* attributed to the second century B C.

Incarnation of Vishnu

The heroic deeds, through which Krishna enables the Pandus to win decisive battles against their cousins, the Kurus, the several feats of personal physical courage, the statecraft, including treachery, the audacity and

the fearlessness, form one phase of characterisation of this spectacular figure in the *Mahabharata* The second phase in his role as incarnation of the supreme God, Vishnu, who sermonises on the ethics of war The essence of life, he says is in the performance of *Dharma* righteousness, even if this means fighting one's own kith and kin But the performance of duty has to be always without attachment to the fruits of action And the way of salvation is through *Bhakti*, or devotion, to Him by the practice of prayer through Yoga, the ritualistic psychology of worship used to attain perfection and thus release from the trammels of existence

Krishna the Saviour

In the sixth century A D another appendix was added to the *Mahabharata* entitled *Harivamsa* or the geneology of Krishna As Hari was the other name of Vishnu, Krishna sustains his exalted status as Supreme God to which he had been uplifted in the *Mahabharata* But he is supposed to be incarnated in the world as a chieftain, who distinguishes himself in many roles In his incarnation as a cowherd, he is called Govinda As the radiant One he is Keshava When he is bound with a rope by Yashoda to a mortar and uproots two trees he is called Damodara As the enemy of the arch demon Mura, the killer of Kaliya the black snake, the destroyer of Kesi the demonhorse, and the slayer of Madhu the *rakshasha* who sprang from the ear of Vishnu, he is called Murari As Janardana he is the Most Worshipped And the *Harivamsa* becomes the first coherent text, proving Krishna to be not only man but come to the earth as God to suppress tyranny and injustice and to revive goodness

Growth of the Legend

The ideals of literature in the ancient and mediaeval Indian world demanded that the noblest theme to be rendered especially from the old myths legends and stories of the gods The contemporary theme was discouraged The orthodox Brahminical order wished to conserve the classical culture of Hinduism against heterodoxy and revolt as well as assault from outside Therefore we find that the *Harivamsa* myths are resuscitated in the *Vishnu Purana* which was compiled in the sixth century

And this version is again rendered in the fuller *Bhagvata Purana* where all the previous incidents are gathered up around the development of the heroic cowherd the ruling prince who after destroying many demons tyrants and wrong doctrines relieves the earth and then fights the last battle for mankind before leaving the mortal coils

1

2

1 A play in progress the figure in the centre and a pair of gopis or cowherds Illus Gita Govinda Western India 15th Cent A D

2 From a Section on Rasolla Illus of Balgopalastuti Western India 15th Cent A D

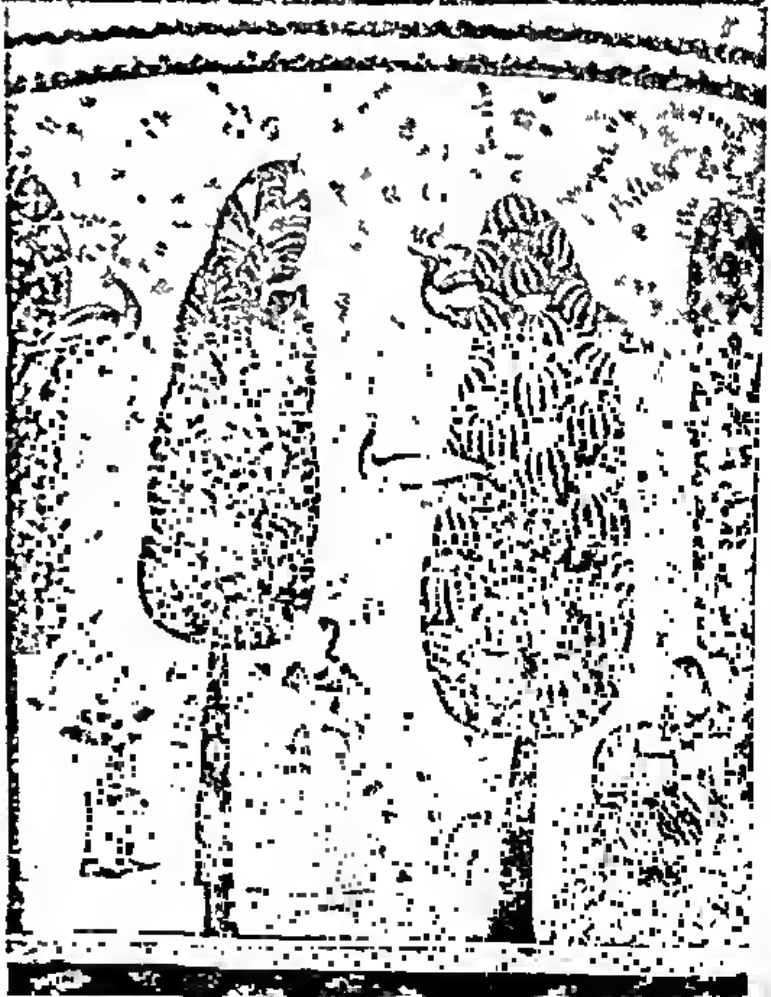
3 Return of the Messenger Illus of the Gita Govinda by the poet Jayadeva Rajasthan or Gujarat C 1590 1600 A D N C Mehta Collection Ahmedabad

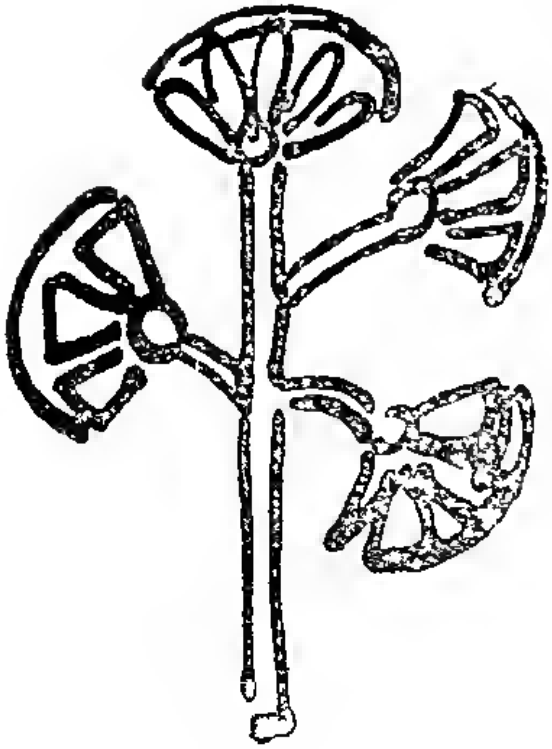
4. *Krishna approaching Radha, Illus. to Sursagar by Sur Das, Udaipur, Rajasthan C. 1650 A. D.*

5. *Double illustration to the Rasikapriya of Kesava Das (Top) Radha sending a message to her lover (Bottom) Krishna kneeling at her feet, Mewar, 17th Century A. D.*

6 *The toilet of Radha Illus from a Rasikapriya Series, Rajasthani Mewar School, Motichand Khajanchi Collection Bikaner C 1650 A D*

7 *A scene from Rasikapriya the love stricken gopis, C 1670 A D*





8 *Krishna dancing with gopis in the grove, Kishangarh, Rajasthan 18th Century, A D*

The Great Inspiration

These allegorical narratives seem to have supplied the inspiration to much later love poetry. In the twelfth century, Jayadeva, an inspired genius of Eastern India, broke away from the accepted orthodox representation of Krishna's character and recreated him mainly as the illicit lover of Radha, the wife of a Brahmin with whom this hero elopes The dalliances of Krishna with his consort Radha, and his flirtations with the maids of Brindavan, evoked the most intense, human sentiments and created an aura of aspiration towards romantic desire, which itself is substituted for the love of God

Chandidas, a Bengal mystic, was to rerender the theme, as interpreted by Jayadeva, but through his own personal love for his washerwoman mistress and charge the story with a poignant human meaning

In the *Rasikapriya* of Keshavdas, Krishna appears as the god of aesthetic poetry by illustrating his connection with woman

And in the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta, he appears almost as a prince of the eighteenth century with the label of God kept on as a concession to the Brahmins, but used to illustrate the eroticism of the feudal courts

Emergence of Krishna In the Arts

Although Krishna, as hero-god and knave, had figured for nearly two thousand years in literature, curiously in the mediaeval period, he did not appear prominently in wood, stone or colour This may have been due to the fact that, from the sixth century B C the ritualistic teaching of the Buddha, which negated desire and the life of pleasure, also had to be matched by a fairly rigorous Brahminism

But this cannot be the only reason for the neglect of the Krishna legend in pictorial and plastic art, because even before Christ, there was a superabundance of wealth in the central court for a classical culture to emerge *The Bharat Natya Shastra began to be compiled, obviously based on long* practice of dance, art and music Also the *Kama Sutra* of Vatsyayana was put together from previous sources in celebration of the wordly life of the householder in all its fullness and romantic love, based on physical desire, was accepted in its licit and illicit connections The fashionable citizen was already a familiar figure in the courts The feudal chieftains patronised music and drama and poetry, at the highest level of sophistication as part of the court life To be sure, the sanctions of the gods were invoked in every play of the classical renaissance But while the disreputable Shiva

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is honoured, and Rama the hero king-god of the epic *Ramayana* is often invoked Krishna, does not appear in any major play The god Vishnu begins to be exalted, in his aspect as the Blessed One, but the human situations in which Krishna was involved as a hero in the *Mahabharata* though sung about, do not feature in the temple sculptures

The wife of Jayadeva, who was a dancer, is said to have choreographed the *Gita Govinda* and danced its various cantos to the music in which the poet himself had set every movement But there is no illustrated palmleaf manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century in which Krishna appears

The Jain Primitives

There is a *Gita Govinda* and two versions of the *Bal Gopal Stuti* which were illustrated in Western India in about 1450 A D

W G Archer suggests that these pictures may have been painted in Gujerat, because Dwaraka the capital of Krishna's kingdom was situated on the West coast

Dark bodied, big eyed, sharp nosed, Krishna is here a vital figure with the flute in his hands, in the company of highly excited cow girls whose contours burst out of the trim angular frames of the Jain *Kalpasutra* rigidities and staticism The colours are primitivist and the happy theme enlivens the ferocious Western Indian mediaeval brushwork

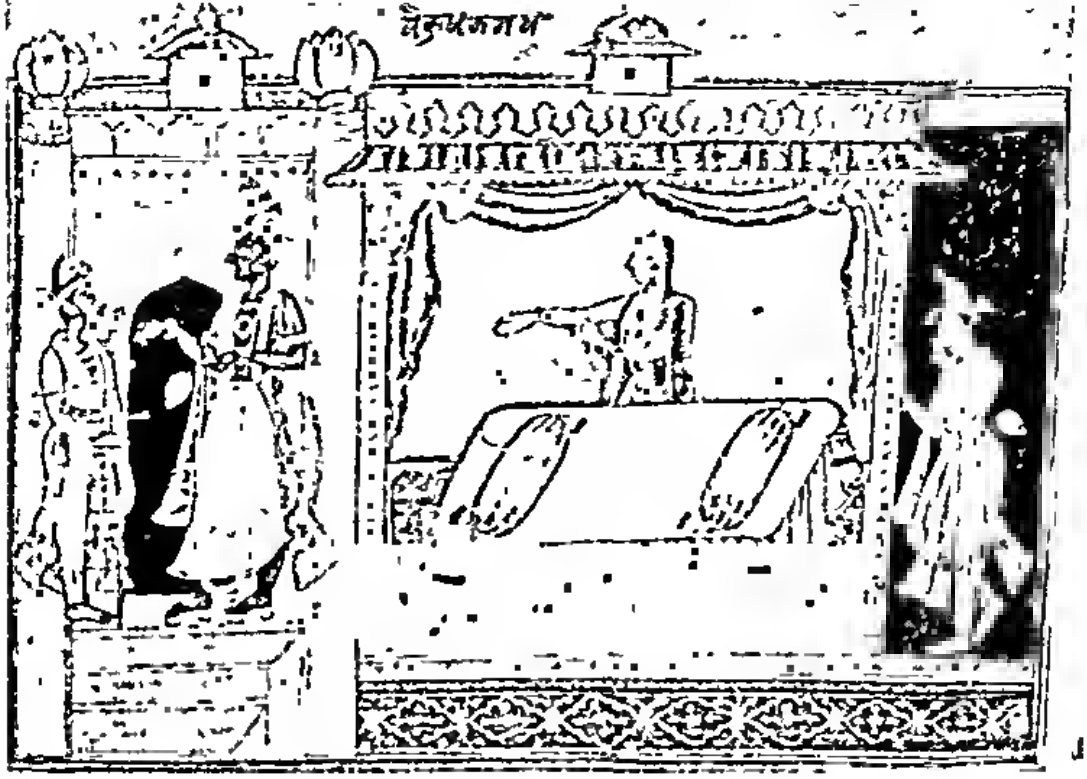
Again there is no representation of Krishna available until the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Two of these manuscripts which emerges are of the 10th book of the *Bhagavata Purana* The third is *Gita Govinda* Though rooted in the Jaina idiom they are primitivist and nearer folk than the court art

The Pastorals

There is an illustration of *Gita Govinda* of 1590 in which the primitivism of the *Jain Kalpasutra* style has yielded to a softer line The farther eye has gone and against a soft ochre background overshadowed by stylised trees the sleek figure of Krishna is shown in deep cobalt blue in the midst of pale faced females The love god is clad in a dancing constume and his vivacious eye has enough mischief in it to make him the folk remembrance of the cowherd hero days

9-10. *Radha with musicians (Cartoons), painted under Maharaja Pratap Singh (1779-1803 A. D.) Jaipur, Rajasthan.*

11. *Krishna is seen dancing*



12. *Krishna despatching a message while Radha waits, Basohli, Punjab Hills, 17th Century, A. D.*

13. *The forest fire from the Bhagavata Purana, Basohli, Punjab Hills, Khandalwala collection, C. 1680 A. D.*

The theme of one of the picture is :

'Seeing the return of her friend dumb with grief, without Madhava, she (Radha) doubting that Janardana is dallying with another woman said so: (another young woman possessing greater charm) duly attired for dalliance with the battle of love, with dishevelled hair and lotus petals falling from their form (is having dalliance with the enemy of Madhu).'

There is a tender recognition in fixed eyes of the heroine of betrayal, and the stirrings of jealousy come through the love war, but, naturally, the composition cannot bring out the meaning of the situation described in words

The pictures in the *Bhagavata Purana* sets of 1598 A D. in the Jaipur Pothikhana, and of 1610 A D and in the collection of the Maharaja of Jodhpur, are also painted in a similar style, as pastorals with the simple experience of lyrical trees and moving forms, gentle like the shadows of the pellucid North Indian summer evenings

At this time there was going on the fusion of the Persian, Central Asian and Indian colours in various Pathan sultanates in the far flung parts of India, like Palam, Jaunpur, Mandu, and the flaming colours were beginning to murmur of love.

In Mughal Art : Razma Namah

Under Akbar, 1556-1605, an atelier was set up, where two Persian artists, Mir Syed Ali and Kwaja Abdul Sammad combined with several Hindu craftsmen to illustrate themes like the legends of Hamza a Central Asian prince, the *Mahabharata* (entitled in Persian, *Razma Namah*), as also record the deeds of Akbar in the book of Abul Fazal, the *Abkar Namah*

The *Harivamsa* was also rendered as an appendix to the *Razma Namah* and fourteen paintings on the Krishna themes were done These are in the collection of the Maharaja of Jaipur and are in the mixed Indo-Persian style Rectangles, with borders, enclose the fantastically twisted trees and rounded hills as the background of princes and their attendants The drawing is by the provincials of the Herat school, a trifle crude But the earth is vibrant like a rich Iranian palette, but with the new feeling if the Indian atmosphere

Fusion of Styles

For instance the picture by Basawan showing Krishna s half brother Balaram with the Seshnaag issuing from his mouth is a masterly adumbera tion of the emotional Hindu depth created through treatment of foliage with the clarity of fine craftsmanship which came from the Herat studios via Khorasan and other allied Persian *kalams* into India The snakes who came to greet Sesha are treated with the curvacious line which is the specia lity of the Indians The total composition is influenced by the European vertical style pictures which have already reached the court of Akbar and have been seen by the artists of the court

The Akbaride style was copied in the *Bhagavata Purana* of 1670 A D and in the illustrations to Keshav Das s *Rasikapriya* which had app ared in 1591 A D and was brought to the Emperor s notice These paintings are by inferior artisans and only imitate the imperial manner

Later on the *Rasikapriya* was taken up by a Muslim painter called Rukhnudin in the Bikaner court And though there is a rather decorative overall finish here and there is not much feeling tenderness is being wooed

The Flowering

It is only when the Indian feudal chieftains of Rajasthan and the Pahari area of Punjab began to patronise painting in emulation of the example of the Mughal court that we get an integral art which absorbs for ign influences and expresses the Indian sensibility with its peculiar ambival nce its curious brooding rhythms the quintessence of an evanescent awarenes of the passing sensuous charms of life These Hindu princes flourishing under Mughal suzerainty were really big landowners whose daily routin of indolent living was heightened by the p ercing tunes of the Sh hnai the gyrations of the dance and the vivid colours of the wall paintings minatures and embroi deries After the live long day filled by the prolonged *puja* good food and d ep siestas the relaxed hours of the evening were spent in the company of the favourite *rani* and the maids in the palace gardens with the court musi cians supplying the background of happiness The only myth through which the life of the s nses could then be made respectabl and ye instigate the pleasures of flirtation dalliance and seduction was in the legends of the love god Krishna particularly in his role as the lover of Radha and the young maidens of Brindavan The artist understood the r ference to th two planes of actuality and symbolism and they sought to please the chieftains by stimulating sensuousness with their poignant renderings of tender moments

14. *'Blindman's Buff' painted by Manak, Pahari, 18th Century, A. D.*

15 *Radha and Krishna in the grove Kangra, C 1785 A D, Victoria and Albert Museum Collection, London*

Mewar Rasikapriya

In the Mewar court two painters Shahbuddin and Manshar carried out for Maharana Jagat Singh (1628 1652) some exquisite paintings based on Krishna s aesthetic life as described in the *Rasikapriya*

In the series of pictures of the *Rasikapriya* of circa A D 1650 (Khazan chi collection Bikaner) we see the exciting colours of Malwa filled now into flowing lines as they define the luscious curves of the passionate females with the trees and foliage of half a century ago sytlised now into simple abstracted forms There is a vitality and compelling urgency about the composition as though the whole of life depends on the toilet for one moment of meeting of the ardent lovers

The theme of one of the paintings is described in the following verses

At first discarding her langour she looked up in the mirror and then for sometime pounded the camphor Then the fair lady wearing a bathing sari tied scented oil to her body and wiped it with a soft cloth says Keshava she mixing the collyrium with musk and frank incense applied it to her eyes my friend as ill luck would have it how am I to see him when shyness still sticks to my eyes

The pleasure giving pearl strand strung to red thread intertwine the hair lock wreathed with flowers The saras eyed lady holding a mirror is beholding it langourously says Keshava seeing Krishna who was concealed a pointed simile suggests itself—within the halo of the sun has penetrated the orb of the moon and in between them has penetrated as it were the Triveni (the plaited braid)

As was usual the painting does copy the words being conceived as a composition which may embody the atmosphere of tense expectancy in two parts one above and the other below In the top section Radha looking like a princess is seen seated against the cow tail cushion with five female companions The princess being shown the mirror at the end of her toilet The lower segment shows the princess seated in a garden with Krishna hiding behind a cypres so that Radha can see the reflection of his face with her own in the mirror she holds in her left hand

The impersonation by Krishna of the Rajput princes continued in the pictures of the *Bhagavata Purana* painted in Mewar Bundi and Malwa The deep reds soft greens and intense blues introduce an aesthetic pattern into each of these paintings vibrant with the lush foliage of the landscape Doubt less the theme was religious but it seems to us that the motive force behind these paintings is in the life of passion of the feudal princes themselves

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Bundi and Malwa Schools

Apart from the one *Rasikapriya* and the *Bhagavata Purana* which were done in Bundi and Malwa Krishna appears in many *Ragmala* paintings as well as pictures on the *Nayak Nayika* and *Baramasa* themes The legends of the stories of his love making had led him to be called 'the best of lovers And in these schools of pictorial art he is reproduced as the embodiment of physical desire The living urges of the youthful prince invoking the musical mode by swaying in the swing under cloudy *rainswept skies* where the peacocks are shrieking typifies the evocation of the swinging music in the momentum of lush colours

The Malwa *Rasikapriya* paintings in the Bharat Kala Bhavan are even more expressive of the poetry of love in one sustained spring time of passion where the sun heat is warming the figures who move in the meadows and orchards of enclosed palaces with souls athrob

The Legend Made Flesh

And in Kishengarh in Rajasthan was witnessed a strange drama under the influence of the Krishna cult Maharaja Sawant Singh declared his faith in salvation by 'the way of pleasure and relived Krishna s romance with Radha in his dalliances with his own consort the lovely maid Bani Thani Both the prince and his Radha (Bani Thani) wrote poetry And Sawant Singh got the highly talented court artist Nihal Chand to paint the theme of loving as presented in poems of the lovers The painter did the whole series of romantic pictures in a stylised rhythmic line which emphasised the almond eyes and bowlike eye brows the sharp pointed noses of both Radha and Krishna and seductive transparent draperies of the lovers playing with each other in delicate gestures

Krishna as an elegant prince again comes to be featured in the large life size cartoons in the Jaipur palace There he is shown as a Kathak dancer opposite Radha attended by girl musicians Apparently Maharaja Pratap Singh (1779 1885 A.D) was himself a student of dance and had these pictures of himself in the role of Krishna and the ladies of the court done in the very hall where the rehearsals took place Soft pastel pale green figures dressed in transparent robes greenish yellow light grey blue and pure white move against a pale green background in the posture of *That* The fresco like finish of these large scale colour drawings shows that the folk base of Rajasthani painting was still sustained underneath the accomplished mastery of live colours which came in from the Mughal court artist

16 *Radha at Krishna's feet Kalighat Calcutta 19th Century A D*

Pahari Paintings : Basohli

The other area in which the Krishna theme seems to have figured dominantly, in the late mediaeval period was the secluded landscape of hill plateau and valley in the Shiwaliks and the Punjab Himalayas

The first burst of enthusiasm was witnessed in the little hill state of Basohli under Raja Kirpal Pal This dynamic prince had travelled extensively and was a man of charm and taste He engaged some artists and obviously showed them paintings from Mewar and Delhi and set them to work on the three books which had celebrated Krishna's love life the *Rasikapriya* of Keshav Das—the *Bhagavata Purana* and the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Dutt

Ostensibly W G Archer's suggestion that the influence of Mewar came to be exerted here is clear from paintings like *The Forest Fire* illustrating an incident in the *Bhagavata Purana* (circa 1680 at present in the Khandalwala collection) The warm colours of the paintings under Raja Jagat Singh of Udaipur are reproduced here with similar stylised trees but the peculiar intensity of the figures in this unique and moving composition seems to have a folk Pahari extraction and the treatment of the wild flames of fire as well as the flying animals evokes a new kind of existence in the paradise of the hills

The text of the *Rasamanjari* had nothing to do with the Krishna legend but was one of those handbooks of love which had been constantly written to give young lovers hints about how to attract charm and seduce mistresses through go betweens and love philtres The paintings however brought Krishna as the hero—rake—seducer husband He is the gallant whose word cannot be trusted

One picture illustrates the verse

His swollen heart knows neither shame nor pity
Nor any fear of anger How can such a tender bud as I be cast into his hand today

The painting shows hearts always in hot pursuit with Krishna soft and evasive and the women pale with waiting to be loved and aching coyly like flowers wishing to be caressed

The Krishna theme continued to be treated in Basohli in stray pictures until the princess Manaku got the *Gita Govinda* illustrated in 1730 A D

Art of Delicate Gestures

The influence of this set seems to have travelled into the Punjab hills Also, the flaming passion for the display of love moods in warm colours came to dominate the soul search of the princes and the courtiers of Jammu Nurpur, Guler, Chamba and Bilaspur, Kangra and even distant Garhwal The full colours the sharp fish eyes and primitivism of Basohli disappear and a court art of 'soft whispers delicate gestures sighs sobs smiles of the love chase' comes into being on terraces where the moonlight casts its sheen to make each moment the occasion for the expression of desire

The delicate line of Guler owed itself to the sons of Pundit Seu who worked for Raja Govardhan Singh The *Bhagavata Purana* illustrations carried out by one of these masters set the tone for much subsequent work in this and other kingdoms Clearly the composition of the Guler pictures owes to Mughal technique imbibed from seeing the imperial pictures But the colours are also warmer here The line is fluid The atmosphere is charged with the stem of each flower, leaf bird and human being

These paintings are permeated by a discreet emotionalism which vivifies beyond the suave naturalism of the Mughals

Manak and the Spirit of Krishna Leela

There is a picture in the Guler style in the Tehri Garhwal collection signed by Manak (*Manak ki likhi*) on the reverse This is a rendering of a playful scene in which the cowherds of Brindavan are involved in the sport 'Blind Man's Buff' There is a liveliness in the composition and vigour of movement as well as the quick of emotion, from which the symbolism of the search by Krishana of the boys who love him is suggested The draughtsmanship which catches the very rhythm of the boys running in different directions or pointing furtively to each other with their hands or eyes to hide quickly before Krishna is allowed to look for them gives the effect of realism The atmosphere of the glowing moonlit night with the supine cows sleeping with open eyes is contrasted with the dynamic human figures Manak was certainly one of the great masters of Pahari painting and caught the very spirit of the Krishna *leela* in his paintings

Kangra and Garhwal

The influence of the Guler Kalam travelled to Garhwal perhaps through the migration of some artists in the dowry of a Guler princess And the loves of Krishna seem to have been preferred in the Garhwal court In the accent of those whispers of physical communion which are also the husky

undertones of spiritual awakening The sensuality of the females in these paintings is unique The lyrical emotions between the lovers begin to symbolise the flow of emotion itself like the breezes of spring in poetry The pigments are mixed to insinuate themselves into our sensibilities like the tendrils which trail in the memory The eyes of the heroines do not wince as they go in for the trysts among flowers Quick like new shoots are the impulsive hearts of the yearning girls

In Kangra valley proper, the revival of the Krishna cult, under Raja Sansar Chand was almost deliberate This powerful prince, who adopted the worship of Vishnu as Krishna for his religion wished to surround himself with all the splendours of a classical court And one of his first acts of patronage was to engage important painters

We do not know whether it was Sansar Chand's favourite painter Kushala or the highly talented Purkhu who painted the *Bhagawata Purana* with the clarity of its tonal effects the delicacy of its line and the fairy world of rippling water blooming lotuses pinks and lilacs

In the masterpiece of Radha and Krishna in the grove as W G Archer suggests the theme celebrates the happiness of sudden coming together of the lovers in the hideout And he quotes from a folk song of the Maikal hills to describe this perfect realisation

My love and I sit together like a lotus in its leaves

The air is surcharged with the refulgence of the flow of passion The sap seems to run in the leaves the trees the water and the sky as well The voices if they spoke would utter broken words The impulsive feelings are intertwined nearly fused The *Bhagavata Purana* was also illustrated in the Kangra Kalam The artist of the set in the Modi collection here has been called 'the master of moonlight' because in all the scenes the atmosphere and the tonal effects have been achieved by smoothening the sheen in order to show the liquid quality of sadness under the near silver light of the moon The drawing is akin to the fine Guler than the larger contour of the Kangra Kalam As there is a sharing of intimacies in the little ironies of love rather than in its deep agonies The eyes do not probe they dip themselves in acceptance of love

Bazaar Paintings of Kalighat

The troubles of the transition from Indian feudal rule to British supremacy meant the transfer of patronage from Indian to foreign hands The

social life of the middle classes lent itself to a superficial Europeanism Therefore, the custody, of the tradition of the arts passed into the bazaars of the big towns or remained with the folk

The Krishna of myth and legend thus appears as a cowherd hero in the paintings which were done for the Krishna-*leela* festival every year Bright reds, blues and browns dominate The large contours of Krishna's robust peasant frame become a favourite image of the Kalighat *Pat* painters of Calcutta who were mostly villagers settled down in the town

This style itself derived from the *Jadapattavas*, or the long painted scrolls, which the village minstrel took from place to place and unrolled before the people as they sang

The Contemporary Artist

Of the modern painters only Jamini Roy has sometimes painted Krishna There is a certain naive vitality in his earth colours and a charm derived mainly from folk impulses

The Sinhalese painter, George Keyt, has frequently adopted the Radha Krishna myth to express the romantic outlook of dark loves, disrobed in the vital curves of the Indian line, distorted and expressive of poetic undertones of a new modern sensibility Desire asserts itself in his work as a dominant influence and his oil colours move swiftly like forest shapes The drawings for his own translation of the *Gita Govinda* distil into his poignant line, the longings of a retreating world

The large scale frescoe-like *Pechwais* of Rajasthan, which are still painted in the villages near Nathdwar, bear witness to the nostalgia of the middle class Hindus for revitalisation of their deadening sensibility through contact with the folk

The same is true about the copies of the Pahari *rumals* which the refugee women make for the tourist visitors to the handicraft emporiums

The old myth is, however, part of the rediscovery of romance in ancient mediaeval India and cannot be revived Only a new myth of human desire can be established by facing the play function of sex, by grasping its mystery with the courage of real tenderness unclogged by sentimentality and without decorativeness

The Flute and the Palette

Krishna Chaitanya

The greatest humanistic contribution of the Krishna myth lies in its redemption of man through the redemption of the world Briefly, it shifted the emphasis from withdrawn, transcendental Being to Becoming, the world no longer needed to be rejected as a mirage, God was immanent in it and the world's beauty reflected His splendour Liberation did not mean the attainment of a rippleless state of consciousness, it meant euphoria and ecastasy, the fullest expression of the stirrings of the heart in spontaneous love which linked beings to one another

This is why the episodes of the Krishna myth unfold against a background of exquisite beauty the pastoral village, the banks of the Kalindi river, the moonlit woods And man and incarnate God draw close together in an endless variety of relations all equally beautiful An incredibly lovely Vedic hymn had the supreme daring to regard itself as the fond mother and God as the little infant she enveloped in a warm embrace The concept of the motherhood or fatherhood of deity, familiar in many traditions all over the world, is reversed here and God becomes the little child needing all the tender love of man—and even occasional chastisement for being naughty! Arjuna knows Krishna as his friend and counsellor, Radha and the maidens of Vraja see in him their beloved

It is this last motif which recurs most in painting The stiff and angular idiom of Western Indian manuscript painting becomes relaxed and begins to develop curvilinear grace when the text happens to be the *Gita Govinda*, that mellifluous poem in which Jayadeva sang of the love of Radha and Krishna And this text as well as the Tenth Canto of the *Bhagavata* have inspired some of the masterpieces of Rajasthani and Pahari painting

The Erotic Metaphor

The erotic bond as the metaphor of the union of man and God is not unique to

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the Indian tradition More than metaphor, it was an experienced reality in the lives of Teresa of Avila and St John of the Cross Its fervour gleams in the poetry of Francis Thompson and Alice Meynell It is a characteristic mood of Sufi meditation and poetry But it is a dangerous metaphor, charged always with a restless momentum to assert its own autonomy instead of being content to serve as a symbol for experiences that are more profound It is only very recently that we have become aware of the possibility that we may be guilty of extreme *naivete* if we automatically read off spiritual meaning every time we came across this sensuous metaphor The descriptions of her experiences which Teresa of Avila has left have been in recent decades subjected to a more probing analysis We too need to undertake such an analysis with respect to our own tradition if we are not to miss significant differences in nuances.

The Subtle Imagery of Bhagawata

The story of the rendezvous of Krishna and the maidens of Vraja is spun by the *Bhagavata* out of the loveliest material that nature can furnish moonlight on the river the scented breath of the night breeze flowing from the heart of the woods and the call of Krishna's flute heard by the maidens even in their sleep But the poet of the *Bhagavata* is ever alert to see that the imagery always retains its transparency and never develops a density that would make it ultimate in itself instead of being a symbolic medium "The rains set in Clouds hid the moon even as egoism hides the soul Rain poured down like blessings The fresh water, like the service of the lord produced a fresh richness and beauty in all Then autumn came Sky and water became transparent like minds in meditation, the mire of the roads slowly disappeared like the false notions of the ignorant It is this repetition of imagery with a deeper resonance where the detail in nature is used to suggest a state of the spirit, that prepares the way for the entry of the flute pouring out as much longing as its listeners in the hushed hamlet felt for its player The subtlety of the creative strategy manages to draw out all the ardour of which the human heart in love is capable, but lifts and sublimates it to the plane of the spirit

Other Traditions : The Christ Story

Is the temper of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* identical ? The fact that it has been universally assumed to be in fact identical cannot block a careful reexamination And in such a rethinking it might be helpful to recall instances from other traditions of deviant modulations of the aesthetic sensibility away from the direction in which the original myth clearly moved

In the Christ story with its uncompromising emphasis on the ultimate sacrifice the Passion is the basic episode and the basic symbol for a genuinely Christian art are the Crucifixion and the Pieta But look at the contrast in the manner in which these themes have been treated by different epochs and temperaments Today we realise that it is only the tortured and sombre style of Rouault or Grunewald that can bring out the profound message of the Crucifixion But in the picture now in the Gardner collection Boston, Giorgione painted a Christ who looks like a handsome aristocratic Italian youth his frame has not known the rack the crown of thorn adorns his head

decoratively like the chaplet of laurel won by an Athenian youth in the Olympic Games, he carries the cross as if it were a flag, almost gaily. The Pieta also shows such extreme contrasts. It is only the Mary in the Florene Pieta of Michelangelo who has known real agony, the Mary in his Pieta in St. Peter's, Rome, is a classically beautiful woman, more sad than anguished. Generically, she belongs to the *Schoenen Madonnen*, the Beautiful Madonnas that emerged from the workshops of Germany and France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was the elegant culture established by Eleanor of Aquitaine in the twelfth century on the basis of the traditions of chivalry and the *ars amatoria* that had initiated this preference for prettiness over intensity. But, even if this iconographic tradition may not incarnate the highest truth of the Christ story, in its own way it is too exquisite to be rejected.

The Refined Eroticism of Gita Govinda

The twelfth century court of Lakshmana Sena in Bengal was extraordinarily similar to that of the contemporary court of Eleanor in distant Aquitaine. It too was the originating point of a culture of refined eroticism. The only difference was that as the court of Aquitaine was headed by a woman the erotic motif was subdued and sublimated into the devotion of the knightly lover for his lady love, while the mood in the Sena court was more frankly, though always elegantly sensual. In Aquitaine, the modifications brought about by the sensuous culture was limited to the creation of a Madonna who at best (at worst?) became an elegant beautiful and occasionally coquettish lady of the court. Further liberties were blocked by the basic austerity of the Christ story. In the Sena court, the less easily controlled masculine taste, playing upon the Radha-Krishna theme, a very delicately poised metaphor where the slightest imbalance in the handling would raise the erotic motif from its subsidiary and symbolic role to the status of the ultimate poetic intention, created a bouquet of love poems whose fragrance was almost wholly that of the earth, the earth in the revel of spring, without any elusive and high-soaring intimations. This reading may not be congenial to the orthodox. But they should read again the poems of Lakshmana Sena himself, and of the minor poets of his court like Sarana and Umapati Dhara. If they are still not convinced they should turn to the masterpiece of the Sena epoch, Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* and show how they can explain away the fact that many of the sequences in the poem read like Vatsyayana's Book of Erotics versified.

The Incarnation of Meaning

Paradoxical though it may sound, the symbolic discourse can often decay into *prosaic literalism*. This happens when the symbol is used lazily as a mere denotative sign, a *cliché* instead of being moulded afresh every time as aesthetic form or imagery which is always more than sign, is in fact the incarnation of meaning in sensuously palpable form, the word become flesh. Radha and Krishna are favourites in calendar art today and the innocent—bless them!—see in the glamorized figures the union of the human and divine souls. But aesthetic sensibility cannot coexist with this kind of innocence. And yet, what passes as *art criticism in this country* has automatically read transcendent symbolism into every painting on the Radha Krishna theme and

ignored the nuances and modulations which compose a wide spectrum, the deepest penetration into the real inwardness of the myth being achieved only in the Kishangarh masterpieces. Elsewhere what we see is the capture by the myth of the traditions of seasonal song and poetry in homage to woman, the first a genuinely poetic lineage and the second, a courtly and aristocratic current

The Miracle of Kishangarh

Kishangarh painting was a miraculous confluence of many currents In the fifteenth century, Vallabha from the South had migrated to Rajasthan and founded the cult of Shrinathji at Nathadwara Vallabha's way was the *Pushti Marga* the Way of Delight, and its finest symbol was the myth of Radha and Krishna In the eighteenth century, Kishangarh produced a ruler, Samant Singh, who preferred to be a poet than a prince He might have been overhearing, in the garden of his heart Krishna musing over Radha when he penned these lines

> *The wind had pity on me and unveiled her face*
>
> *And the lightning lit up her fair countenance*

He met his own Radha immediately—the lovely Bani Thani who too was a poet and wrote sensuously beautiful verses to Krishna under the pen name Rasik Bihari She was his constant companion from about 1735 to 1764, the year of Samant Singh's death and she did not survive him for more than a year The last seven years of their lives were spent in Vrindavan where Samant Singh had retired, leaving the cares of state in 1757 Their reliving of the Radha-Krishna myth is an extraordinarily beautiful story which however, cannot be detailed here In Nihal Chand, the couple found a painter who could express their exalted euphoria in a style of exceptional evocative power

Creation of a New Idiom

That Nihal Chand modelled the unique Radha of Kishangarh paintings on the distinctive and startlingly beautiful visage of Bani Thani is an interesting but not very important, detail The most signficant achievement is the creation of an idiom that could incarnate the experience There is an enormous expansion of space—the virtual not physical, space in the brilliant distinction made by Susanne Langer—in the Kishangarh masterpieces which is very significant Visvanatha, the great fourteenth century writer on aesthetics has elaborated the theory of *Chitta Vistara*, the expansion of the heart due to its euphoric exaltation in profound poetic experience The landscape in these paintings not only expands to take in vast stretches of meadow and lake and sky, but, as Gautier pointed out in the case of the landscape in Lamartine's poetry, it becomes a state of the soul The expansion of the experience of space here has to be definitely related to the euphoric exaltation of spirit In one painting beneath the moon, on an immense lake, the lovers gaze longingly at each other across a stretch of water The hush of twilight fills the air in many paintings What we experience here is the sublimation of the *Bhagavata* not the sensuousness of the *Gita Govinda*

The Tradition of Poetry

But Jayadeva's musical poem too had a precious legacy for painting, for elsewhere the visualisation of the Radha Krishna theme gets stabilized as a lyrically romantic pictorial tradition This need not be regarded as a failure to reach the highest meaning of the myth, just as we do not have to reject the Beautiful Madonnas of medieval Europe For, since the peak was reached in Kishangarh, a more positive way of looking at the development would be to see in it yet another instance of the fertility of the Krishna myth In fact it was the vitality of the myth that infused lyricism into yet another tradition that was threatening to become rather precious This is the tradition of the poetry—and later of the painting based on it—which gave silhouettes of lovers, *Nayakas* and *Nayikas*, in the various moods of love

The lyrical temper had been genuine in the earlier texts of this tradition—the *Amaru Sataka* of the ninth century and Bilhana's *Chaura Surata Panchasika* of the eleventh, both of which, incidentally, were chosen for manuscript illustration in the early phase of Rajasthani and Central Indian miniature painting But by the time we reach the sixteenth and seventeenth century texts of Kesava Dasa, Bihari and others the tradition has developed extreme preciosity Most of these works are concerned with typology and classification The heroines are classified into anatomical types The situational analysis proceeds by depicting various types like the shy, newly-wed girl and the experienced woman Yet another classification rests on the places and times of rendezvous The detailed ingenuity with which all this is undertaken shows that what began as a lyrical tradition centuries earlier has developed into a rather mechanical taxonomy

Pure Romanticism of Jayadeva

Jayadeva might have failed to penetrate into the real inwardness of the Krishna myth as it took shape in its archetypal form in the *Bhagavata* But if he missed the symbolic overtones, he was able to stabilize it at another level : that of pure romanticism. The lyrical feeling is genuine here A tradition of painting based solely on the texts of Kesava Dasa and Bihari would have yielded only a mechanical pictorialisation What happened was that the current of genuine romanticism flowed into a river that was beginning to stagnate and made the waters limpid again There are many illuminated manuscripts of the *Gita Govinda* itself Once they stabilized the genuinely romantic style, it could handle the other texts too with confidence, and in fact compensate for the preciosity in the poetry by the undiminished lyrical intensity of the pictorial expression The variety of riches yielded by this fertilization cannot be detailed here Every Pahari centre produced masterpieces of romantic painting based on the episodes of the Radha Krishna story

Krishna In Baramasa Sequences

Sensitiveness to nature gleams in Vedic poetry, expands into great frescoes on the pageantry of the seasons in Valmiki yields exquisite cameos in Kalidasa The *Vishnu Dharmottara Purana* of the fifth or sixth century gives elaborate instructions on landscape painting But when seasonal poetry reemerges in the vernacular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is strongly under the influence of the traditions of love and poetry and the *Nayika* lore The tenth

chapter of Kesava Dasa's *Kavi Priya* describes the twelve months but the mood is an extension of the mood of his *Rasika Priya*. For he is giving pleasant instruction to the Nayika about how she could prevail upon the *Nayaka* not to leave her or proceed on a journey. Every month is ideal for love and the description of each month is an account of the pressing reasons why the lover should remain close to his lady love.

The *Baramasa* (twelve month) sequences of Kesava Dasa provided the visual cues for many sets of paintings. But it is when the Krishna theme captured the *Baramasa* tradition just as it had captured the *Nayika* tradition that both poetry and painting acquired the fullest lyricism. The Kangra *Baramasa* set in the Lambagraon collection features Krishna and Radha in all the paintings. Perhaps the finest of these visualisations is that of the enjoyment of the rains (*Varsha Vihara*) a theme which has inspired many pictures including the masterpiece in the Boston Museum. Incidentally while we have space here only for the major thematic categories we should not forget that each theme is handled with fascinating and distinctive stylistic modulation. The *Varsha Vihara* for instance has been rendered with folk *naivete* and vigour as well as with the most exquisite finesse.

Indirect Influence on Ragamala Paintings

Ragamala painting is yet another tradition mellowed by the presence of the flute player. The realm of music is vaster than the realm of verbalisable feelings which is the zone of poetry. In the European tradition music with programmatic intention has always had a lower status than absolute music in spite of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*. And if the attempt at visualising music is to meet with reasonable success the style has necessarily to be abstract non figurative. From this point of view the *Ragamala painting tradition of India cannot* be said to have moved in the right direction. But it is a fascinating tradition all the same. What seems to have happened is that the *Nayika* and *Baramasa* traditions strongly infiltrated into this category. The Krishna theme influenced the Ragamala tradition indirectly through its broad impact on the *Nayika* tradition and also directly, since Krishna himself appears in the visualisations of many melody types. In a Kangra painting of Raga Vasant Krishna is dancing on the bank of the Yamuna intoxicated with the exultant spring while Radha accompanies him on a drum. In another painting of Megha Malhar Krishna is seen dancing with Radha under a sky heavy with dark, water laden clouds.

The central episode in the great myth is the love of Radha and Krishna. Its spiritual symbolism found expression in Kishangarh painting while Kangra and other centres followed up its lyrical and romantic overtones. But there were other episodes too and they were all evocative of the joy of a pastoral life. Rajput painting lingers again and again on these episodes handles each of them with stylistic modulations. That immense treasure cannot be spread out here. But the highlights are the scenes of Krishna's infancy and later the hour of the cow dust (*Godhuli*). Here the Krishna theme endowed painting with an idyllic sweetness as elsewhere it had endowed it with romantic lyricism and euphoric exaltation of the spirit.

The 'Basohli' Gita Govinda

B. N. Goswamy

A Triumph In Colour

Among the most exalted expressions of the spirit of religion in the art of India is a set of paintings of the *Gita Govinda* from the Punjab hills referred to generally by scholars as the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda*. In this extensive set are illustrated with a rare depth of passion and understanding the mystic verses of the poet from Bengal Jayadeva who wrote in the twelfth century the last among the truly great *kavyas* of Sanskrit literature. The paintings succeed at places not only in capturing the mood of devotion they also evoke the feeling of rhythm of cadence that there is in the poem. Pictorially they have been described as a triumph in colour, as possessing the intensity of mystic fervour. Before a dark blackcloth say Banett and Gray[1] describing the paintings 'lit by glimmering trees and a thin line of white sky the figures of Krishna and his lovers pose and cluster with grave intent faces as if arrested in the performance of some elaborate masque. The muted landscape and the glint of the dark green beetles wings give an air of evening to the most successful pages.

The Controversy

The importance of this set of paintings to the art historians however has consisted more in the circumstances with which it is surrounded than in the poetic trance which it induces. The set is extensive and runs into more than a hundred leaves and it is dispersed over several collections private and public spread all over the world. But it was the discovery by the late N. C. Mehta of the colophon of the set which created a great deal of excitement and later controversy.[2] For the colophon in Sanskrit mentions date which was first interpreted by Mehta as A.D. 1830 and later corrected by him to A.D. 1730. The reading of the date which is given in a peculiarly complicated manner often employed by Sanskrit writers was however a minor matter compared to the difficulty that arose about ascertaining the exact meaning of the lines that followed. The verse in the colophon carried a slightly difficult syntax and was capable of being interpreted differently. Two names were clearly given in the verse those of Malini and Manaku and the controversy generally was on the point whether Malini or Manaku was the name of the lady patron for whom this set of paintings of the *Gita Govinda* had been executed. It was suggested by some scholars that Manaku was in fact the name of the artist who had executed this set of paintings and Malini that of either his patron or the meter in which the verse was composed. Others suggested almost exactly the opposite of this. The controversy flourished as more and more opinions were offered and assumed fairly serious dimensions. Then the complications were added to by the discovery of precisely the same colophon in Sanskrit on one of the sheets of the set of illustrations to the *Gita Govinda* which was in the collection of the Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal. This set stylistically could only be of a later

date and in an obviously different hand but by having the same colophon it did not make things very much easier for the art historian

It is a little unnecessary to refer to the details of the controversy or of the opinions which were offered by learned scholars on the subject but I find it relevant to mention that the matter seems to have closed with the publication of Dr M S Randhawa s *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* in which W G Archer has dealt with brilliance and insight with the problem and concluded by saying that Manaku cannot be taken to be anything else except the name of the artist of this set of paintings His reasons are strengthened by the fact that we do know of a painter by the name of Manaku the son of Pandit Sen about whose family we possess a fair amount of information more at any rate than we do about any other family of artists from the Punjab hills The dates of this Manaku are not ascertainable with any degree of exactitude but are fairly indicated by the fact that he was the elder brother of Nainsukh whose paintings of Balwant Singh of Jammu are dated and who is thus placed in the forties of the eighteenth century Manaku being the elder of the two brothers thus fits with perfect ease into this date A D 1730 which appears on this set of paintings

Guler not Basohli

Since this short article has the limited aim of contributing to the discussion on the Basohli *Gita Govinda* there are several matters to which I wish to draw attention especially in the context of the place where this work was done and the manner in which the same inscription appears on two sets of paintings of the same theme separated in their styles by nearly fifty years First that there is no apparent justification for considering this set as coming definitely from Basohli The only reason that is offered to support this ascription is that it is painted in what we commonly believe to be the 'Basohli style' The words 'Basohli style are however, applied very loosely to paintings coming from regions very wide apart and are used mostly as synonymous with the 'primitive" or early style of painting in the Punjab hills The colophon of this set does not mention Basohli nor is there anything in the circumstances of the find of this set which should suggest a Basohli origin If on the other hand we find paintings in this style in other areas also the insistence on linking this set with the state of Basohli seems a little misplaced The set could come from any of the other states of the hills and I am inclined to suggest that it comes from Guler Guler appears to have been an important centre of art even earlier than the time of Raja Goverdhan Chand with whose name the beginnings of Guler painting are generally associated As early as A D 1703 during the period of Dalip Singh the father of Goverdhan Chand we find an explicit reference to painters living in Haripur the principal town of the state of Guler Added to this is the important fact that Manaku and his family belonged without any question to Guler On this behalf I have come upon and published consistent and emphatic evidence in the records of the priests at centres of pilgrimage like Hardwar and Kurukshetra There is in fact even an inscription in the hand of Manaku himself which ocurs in a register of pilgrims with a family if priests at Hardwar This

inscription is dated S 1793 (A D 1736) and states clearly that Manaku came to Hardwar in that year from Guler If Manaku was living in Guler in A D 1736, six short years after the *Gita Govinda* was painted it raises a strong presumption in favour of Guler being taken as the place from which this set of paintings comes

A Theory Regarding Colophon

I have suggested in a long essay to be published elsewhere * that the mystery of the same colophon occurring on two different sets of paintings is explicable without much difficulty In the family of Manaku and Nainsukh painting was being clearly carried on even after them And their sons had taken the family style of painting in the direction of refinement which was the peculiar contribution of Nainsukh as evidenced by his paintings of the court of Balwant Singh of Jammu It was usual for sketches of sets of paintings to be kept in a family collection in the form of drawings or stencils after the finished set of paintings had been handed over or presented to the patron and it was also usual because easy for the members of the same family to produce sets of paintings of themes which had been painted to an earlier generation I see the possibility then of one of the sons of Manaku or Nainsukh producing a set of paintings of the *Gita Govinda* in the new and refined manner then giving it as was the practice to a *pandit* to add the Sanskrit verses on the back of the paintings and the *pandit* doing this with such enthusiasm that he even copied the colophon from the sketches of the earlier set on to one of the sheets of the new one This as a possibility is not as remote as it might appear to begin with because there is evidence to show that the members of this family in succeeding generations worked on the same themes like the *Ramayana* and the *Bhagavata Purana* at least twice over The errors committed by the *pandit* do not again come as much of a surprise from an area where the general level of learning was comparatively poor and from which we find several Sanskrit inscriptions replete with mistakes both of style and grammar Even in the present colophon there are errors to which attention has already been drawn [11] If we adopt this explanation then it becomes possible to do away with the slightly unlikely theories that have been suggested earlier The two *Gita Govinda sets become closely linked* even though they are generally described as being vastly different stylistically

Evolution of Style

This matter of styles I believe is deserving of a re examination because we have fallen into the pattern of seeing styles distinguished by geographical considerations and much in the manner in which Dr Coomaraswamy spoke of Jammu and Kangra as the two major centres of painting in the hills because these were the two most powerful states politically in this region we tend neatly to designate all early works as Basohli and all late works as Kangra The bridges that we build between these or the variations of the style that we are anxious to explain we regard essentially in a geographical context We speak thus of styles of painting associated with particular states rather than with particular artists or families It is with reference to this matter of styles that the *Gita Govinda* of A D 1730 needs to be looked at very carefully and with fresh eyes I personally see in this set an important document of Pahari painting not only because it is dated but also because it holds evidence for me of the coming to

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terms by the Pahari artist with the arrival of new influences from the plains I see the style which is commonly referred to as Kangra as not being the result of the efforts of a family of refugee artists trained in the manner of late Mughal painting and arriving into the hills in the second quarter of the eighteenth century but as a product of a process of evolution of style in the hills One could in fact speak of a process of the adjustment by the Pahari painter to paintings of the Mughal style elements from which he kept on borrowing over a period of time The 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* I think is a set which makes important departures in the direction of naturalism and belonging as it does to a point of time when we generally believe that the style was undergoing a change it affords evidence of the Pahari painter incorporating new elements into his work It is possible to demonstrate in fact that in this set cast as it unsuspectingly is in the general style of the early period the artist was making several experiments For a traditional artist bound to inherited belief this was a bold thing to do but he went about it with some resolution considering that in painting after painting we find formulae or devices used which are new to painting in the hills

Rendering of Dasavatara

Before we consider some of these however is to be mentioned in an important but generally ignored fact And that is that to the set of paintings generally believed to be belonging to the *Gita Govinda* theme are prefixed ten paintings of the ten *avataras* of Vishnu This is scrupulously correct from the point of view of the illustration of the *Kavya* of Jayadeva because he prefixes to his poetry of the love of Radha and Krishna a hymn in praise of the ten incarnations The paintings of the *avataras* are exactly in the same format and manner and can only be regarded as a part of the set What is a very interesting and hitherto unnoticed is that the painting shows Vishnu seated inside a loggia with the poet Jayadeva standing with folded hands and bent head in front of the Lord On the grey wall at the back are drawn in an extremely fine hand and in small squares of not more than an inch by an inch sketches of all the ten *avataras* that Jayadeva sang of and that the artist of this set painted

New Conventions Naturalism

This element of taking the viewer by surprise distinguishes much of the work in this set and one could draw attention to certain elements and conventions which bespeak of a spirit or influence which did not belong to the early art of the hills from the seventeenth century The most noticeable thing of course is that in the faces of the figures, more especially in the eyes is now a greater degree of naturalism of a softness that is wrought by the delicate shading that the artist employs The eyes are large but have lost a little of that ferocity or predatoriness which characterized the paintings of the *Rasamanjari* from Basohli or the iconic paintings of so many manifestations of the Devi The whole aspect of these paintings is in fact gentler than those that belonged to the predecessors of this set of paintings

It is several new conventions however which are especially noticeable in this set The treatment of mountains for example In a painting showing Krishna in a grove with a group of *gopis* in a painting in other words set in the same locale in which the entire poem is set, are introduced rather

redundantly in the background, high up and just below the horizon, some continuing wavy forms in mauve and green, that are the artist's manner of indicating mountains in the distance. These mountains look remarkably like the Persian style, dry-rock-piled-upon-dry-rock mountains which are so characteristic of Mughal painting. In this very painting itself, the artist suggests the superposition of forms by placing two trees in the centre behind these mountains in such a manner that only their thick and leafy crowns are visible, and the trunks are completely outside the field of vision, being hidden by the mountains. This is a striking departure from the pictorial situation in the early paintings from the hills, a departure in the direction of naturalism.

Experiments with a New Technique

The foliage in a large number of the paintings of the *Gita Govinda* shows a new tendency towards enrichment. The trees which in earlier paintings are almost like neat diagrammatic forms, generally isolated from each other and painted with much precision and sharply defined outlines, acquire a new aspect in these paintings of the *Gita Govinda* by the addition of an occasional flowering creeper entwined around the trunk of the tree or of a spray of flowers that suddenly shoots forth from the crown. The effect is of a new gaiety and the trees lose a little of their ascetisism as it were in the paintings. A very remarkable painting in connection with the consideration of the manner in which trees were generally painted in this series is a painting in the Chandigarh Museum[14] in which the tree placed in the centre of the picture surface is made up not of carefully drawn leaves painted upon leaves, but has a very vague form and bears the general effect of stippling, almost as if the artist had taken a hard brush of some thickness and dabbed the paper with its strokes, holding the brush vertically in his hand. This is entirely at variance with the earlier practice, in fact even at variance with the practice in this set itself, and I have little doubt that the artist was experimenting with a new technique. An interesting circumstance connected with this very painting is that a soft green, which makes up the background of the painting and which has also been used in the tree, seems to have flaked off very badly. This peeling off cannot be the result of negligent handling of the painting or of the passage of time, because the figures of Radha and Krishna in the left part of the painting are completely undamaged and look fresh like the rest of the set, only because that green has not been used in painting them. One is led to wonder thus if it was not a new pigment which the artist was experimenting with, much as he was using a new technique for painting the tree.

In another painting we find a very interesting architectural detail. Two sharp diagnols of walls are introduced meeting each other at right angles in the centre of the picture. A door opens out of the distant wall, and is cut by the wall in front with the aim clearly of creating the feeling of depth in space. This introduction of the walls outside the loggia is highly uncommon and, like the mountains noticed above, is deliberate, for the artist seems to have been employing them for trying out new technique devices. There are other matters which invite attention. Like, for instance, the introduction of short sweeping curves in the background separated from each other to mark the gentle undulation of the earth, or the highly distinctive manner

of treating water, or the little shoots of grass in tiny tufts on the ground.

The *Gita Govinda* of 1730 becomes then, in the light of the discussion, much more than a charming set of illustrations to a great poem; it becomes the vehicle for the introduction of new elements in the contained world of Pahari painting, and must be seen as such in the context of the history of Pahari painting, for much that followed flowed from the absorption of the new spirit seen in evidence here

NOTES

1 See Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), pp 86, 88 On pages 83 to 88, appears a detailed discussion of the Basohli *Gita Govinda* by Mr Khandalavala

2 Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India* (Lausanne, 1963), p 167 The authors also say, however, that in these paintings generally, there is little feeling and no movement, but the grouping and colour in the best of them are magnificent

3 [illegible] in [illegible] W S *Gita* [illegible] ave been so many contributions to this discussion on the colophon earlier that I have considered it unnecessary here to list them, and I refer the reader both to the Introduction and the Bibliography at the end of this work

4 [illegible]

5 The now well known painting by Nainsukh of "Balwant Singh of Jammu with a Party of Musician' in the Lahore Museum is dated A D 1748 A portrait of Balwant Singh done two years earlier is in the National Museum, New Delhi and is reproduced in [illegible]

6 There are several paintings from Mankot, for example, which are in the Chandigarh Museum that have been done in the early [illegible]

7 [illegible]

8 [illegible]

9 This record is in the possession of Sardar Ram Rakha at Hardwar The inscription by Manaku is very short and mentions him as being a "*tarkhan*" carpenter (—painter) of Guler

10 In this essay to be published in a forthcom- [illegible] paintings

11 See M S Randhawa s *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda*, p 18, n 2 The errors pointed out by Dr P Banerjee and referred to there, can be added to, for the 1730 colophon spells the last word wrongly as "*Chitran* instead of *Chitram*"

12 Karl Khandalavala [illegible]

13 Chandigarh Museum No 1

14 Victoria and Albert Museum London no I S 88 1930

15 No I 54

16 Chandigarh Museum No I 31 This painting is reproduced in W G Archer's *Indian Miniatures* (London 1960), as p 169

NATHDWARA PECHWAIS AND KRISHNA WORSHIP

jasleen Dhamija

Krishna worship has been a source of inspiration to a number of Schools of Arts Some of the finest Rajasthani and Pahari miniatures are based on the theme of *Gita Govinda*, creating an atmosphere charged with emotion and *Bhakti rasa* Besides painting, the theme of Krishna has been exquisitely depicted in the Terracotta Temples of Bengal The image of Shri Krishna as Bal Gopal, *Navnit Priya*, as well as the divine beloved of the maidens of Braj, has often inspired the artist to achieve heights of artistic expression The close connection with the poetic writings of *Bhakti Marga* has been an important factor in this also

The Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, written during the twelfth century, is a source of inspiration to musicians and painters, even today The close link of the poetry of Nagaridas, a ruler of Kishangarh and the paintings of Radha and Krishna in his court is another example of how the poetic images were translated into paintings

The Dream Vision of Vallabhacharya

The school of painting developed in Nathdwara is based on the cult of Shri Nathji, a representation of Krishna The worship of Shri Nathji was initiated by Vallabhacharya, a Vaishnavite saint from

Telengana, at the end of the fifteenth century This came in the wake of *Bhakti* Movement in the South

Legend has it that Vallabhacharya saw Shri Krishna in a dream in the form of Shri Nathji Shri Nathji cried out to Vallabhacharya to search for him on Mount Govardhan and instal him in a temple, so that people could worship him again The stone was discovered and installed in a temple on Mount Govardhan This incident is exquisitely portrayed in a small *pechwai* of Nathdwara The lower part of the painting shows houses probably, belonging to Mathura and the people moving with devout expressions on their faces, to Mount Govardhan, when Shri Vallabhacharya is shown carrying the image of Shri Nathji, to be installed in the temple

Krishna the Ocean of Love

The cult of Shri Nathji, which later came to be known as *Pushtimarg* was based by Vallabhacharya on the tenth book of *Bhagwata Purana* known as *Prem Sagar* the ocean of love This shows a way of spiritual devotion through earthly love *Pushti marga* attracted a large number of adherents with its doctrine of salvation achieved not through fasting and mortification of the flesh but through offering one's whole being—body mind and soul—to the deity With this as the central theme of the worshippers only the very best could be offered to the God This approach influenced to a great extent the arts and crafts which developed around the temple

The temple of Shri Nathji at Nathdwara was started when the worshippers of Shri Nathji fearing religious persecution fled during Aurangzeb s reign in the seventeenth century, from Mount Govardhan to Rajasthan The Maharana of Mewar, Raj Singh (1650-1680) offered shelter to the deity and its worshippers in Udaipur On their way to Udaipur, the cart carrying the image of Shri Nathji got embedded in deep mud and could not be moved inspite of the best efforts of the worshippers The worshippers took this to be a sign from the deity that its temple should be built in that very spot, twentyone miles away from Udaipur The temple of Shri Nathji was built at the very spot and land and villages were donated by the Maharana for the upkeep of the temple Over the years Nathdwara grew in importance as a place of pilgrimage for worshippers of Krishna in Western India

The Temple and the Ritual

The temple of *Shri Nathji* at *Nathdwara* is not based on the conventional designs of the temple, which have a *Shikhar* and a central *'Garbha Griha'*, (where the image is kept for worship) but is built as the House of the Lord Large courtyards lead from one important place of worship to another Hundreds of worshippers are busy working for the Lord Some prepare the *prasad* of delicacies offered to the deity at the time of *Raj Bhog* others grind sandalwood paste with which the deity is decorated while others are busy in making special garments and perfumes for the deity to be used during different seasons and festivals The room where the image is installed is exquisitely decorated Behind the image is the *pechwai* on the sides is the table *pata*, in front of the steps All these and the ceiling is decorated with rich textiles which are related in colour and pattern Special decoration on flower evoke the atmosphere created on the *pechwai*

The ritual worship of Shri Nathji, is also a developed art. The priest who changes the deity's ornaments and costume for a day, perform this as a sophisticated ritual. The worship of Shri Nathji as *Navanita-priya* is an example of this ritual. The movement of the fan, the lifting of the mirror for showing to the image, all speak of the highly developed ritual which brings the deity to life for the worshippers. Art of making *pechwais* originated in this atmosphere of divine worship.

The *pechwais* like the cult of Shri Nathji originated in Mathura and Vrindavan, the land of Krishna's birth and childhood exploits.

The Early Pechwais

Originally, the *pechwais*, as one can gather from the name of the painted cloth, was painted to be hung at the back of the image of Shri Nathji. The subject matter varied, depending upon the festivals or the season. The portion which was to fall exactly at the back of the image would be left blank, so that the image is framed by the *pechwais*. Some of the earlier *pechwais* which began carrying the figure of Shri Nathji, show Shri Nathji standing in his characteristic pose, with his hand raised to the sky. This is the posture, in which he held up Mount Govardhan to protect his people of Braj from the incessant rains sent down by Indra. The figure is framed in a single block of colour with darker colours around it. To heighten and emphasise the image, the background colour is vermilion, bordered with decorative motifs in gold. Dark blue-black colour encloses the vermilion area thus emphasising again the blue-black image of Shri Nathji.

The depiction of Shri Nathji in these *pechwais* is as a rule archaic. The angular, highly stylized standing figure of the deity has elongated eyes and is painted in blue. He has one hand raised above his head in the posture in which he had lifted mount Govardhan. The tautness of the figure bears evidence of the influence of illuminated Jain manuscripts. Since the painting is regarded as eqnivalent to a religious icon, there is a canonical strictness about it. No licence is permitted to the artist.

Uninfluenced by Mughal Art

Though the Mughal School of Painting flourished during the period when the cult of Shri Nathji was most popular in Mathura, the painters there do not appear to have been influenced by it at all. The painters of *pechwais* at Nathdwara, however, came under the sway of the Rajasthani School of Painting. The influence of this school can be seen in an early 18th century *pechwai*. Shri Nathji here carries a red scarf which flows out of his raised hand softening the angularity of the form. He is surrounded by devout worshippers. A brilliant, vermilion background sets off the dark blue figure of the deity. The worshippers clad in white are shown against the blue-black background broken by a flowering bush in gold. The central panel in vermilion brings into relief the blue figure of Shri Nathji and the blue-black background intensifies the effect of the vermilion.

Pachwais and Rajasthani Paintings

In Jain miniatures, the artist as a rule uses single colour background, generally red. Colour contrasts are there but only

in a small portion of the total surface The sky is depicted by clouds in bold strokes of blue and mountains and rocks are indicated by triangular green or grey shapes The sun is often shown as a bright golden ball surrounded by a double halo of blue and white against a red background The Mewar painters derive their use of baske colours from Jain miniatures but prefer to use large surfaces of contrasting colours side by side Their influence is all too apparent in the *pechwais*

Because of better patronage at Nathdwara many artists from Udaipur and Bundi migrated to this place A marked influence of the style of these Rajasthani schools can be discerned in some of the *pechwais* which can be dated to early middle and late nineteenth century In one of the *pechwais* the worshippers are women Shri Nathji is seen here not in the temple precincts but in the midst of nature

A Refreshing Change

As in later Mughal paintings the faces of the figures are brought into relief by elaborate treatment of the foliage in the background The figures of the women worshippers on both sides of Shri Nathji are boldly drawn They are not portraits They delineate a type The side border carries images of Shri Nathji as he is dressed for different festivals

There is a marked difference and in some ways a refreshing change from earlier works The temple surroundings are gone The night sky with a full moon and stars shines above The divine musicians on their aerial *vahanas* make music for the worshippers, who stand with their hands raised above their heads, as if ready for the *ras* The lush banana leaves hide them from alien eyes The vermilion and gold scarf of Shri Nathji flows over the worshippers On one side it touches the raised hand of one of the devotees, while on the other side it flows downwards enclosing another group with its sweeping line, creating a rhythmic and tightly knit pattern

A Bolder Departure

Another *pechwai*, which was probably painted in the middle of the nineteenth century, is a still bolder departure from earlier works The distribution of space and position of figures is no longer rigid The painting depicts of Shri Nathji dancing the *ras* with the *gopis*

A red scarf floats against the sky from the raised hand of Shri Nathji The *gopis* with rapt faces are absorbed in the *ras* Their *dupattas* flow with the movement of the dance and they are wholly oblivious of their surroundings

On both sides there are groups of women musicians with the *veena* the *mridang* and the *khartalt* Behind them are mango trees in fruit and above is the star lit sky Each of the divine musicians plays on a different instrument as all of them watch the *Rasa-leela*

The painting is the work of a master Each figure has an individuality of its own Yet the overall composition of the group is suffused with *Bhakti Bhava*

Below the *Rasa Leela* scene is a panel of peacocks and cows Drunk with the divine music the cows advance towards Shri Nathji while the peacocks with their

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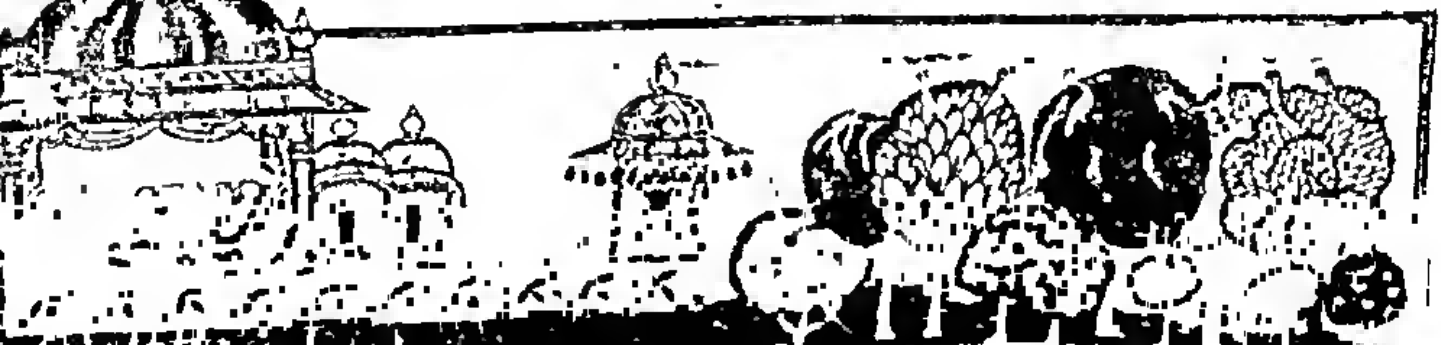

20 *Radha leaves Krishna, Nurpur, C. 1750 A. D.*

21 *Radha complains to a friend, Basohli c. 1680 A. D.*

22 *A Pechwai depicting the Installation of Shri Nathji on Mount Gowardhan by Shri Vallabhacharya*

23 *Shri Nathji, with his raised hand in the characteristic posture, out of which the vermilion seraf flows above the heads of two women worshippers*

24 *A typical Nathdwara Pechwai depicting an offering of Raj Bhog at the time of Dewali*

wings spread out dance along with the *gopis*

Treatment of the Border

Another interesting departure from earlier work, is the treatment of the border in this *pechwai* It does not carry images of Shri Nathji as he is dressed for different festivals but depict scenes from *Krishna Leela* Each is a perfect miniature depicting an episode from Sri Krishna's life—Krishna combing Radha's hair, Krishna as Bal Gopal going out with the cows Krishna and Radha pining for each other

This *pechwai* is one of the finest examples of the Nathdwara School of painting The dominant influence specially in the depiction of the *rasaleela* is that of the Bundi School This can be seen in the close up of the dancing gopis their heavy faces their painted noses and their eyes which look like lotus leaves The whole composition is charged with intense emotion The height of poetic expression and *Bhakti rasa* has been achieved by the painters who transcend the laws of different schools of painting taking the best from each and creating a perfect world art

25 26 *The dall ance of Radl a a d Krishna Krishna and Radha und r a tree*

26 27 [illegible]

Close Links with Krishangarh School

The Kishangarh School of painting has close links with Nathdwara since both schools developed under the influence of Vallabhacharya's philosophy It is in their approach to the subject that the *pechwais* of Nathdwara differ from the paintings of Kishangarh

The Kishangarh School grew in a courtly atmosphere and depicted the love play of Sri Krishna with Radha and the *gopis* The Krishangarh artist at his best took Nagaridas and Bani Thani both devout worshippers of Shri Nathji as his models Nagaridas's poetry, addressed to Sri Krishna, is sensuous in character and is inspired by his own love for Bani Thani

The Nathdwara style from the very beginning developed in temple precincts and though the attitude of the worshipper was the same—that of a *gopi* towards Sri Krishna—the sensuousness was subdued and tempered by a religious atmosphere The hieratic figure of Shri Nathji as the symbol of eternal love dominates these paintings The *gopis* join together in adoring him to achieve ultimate grace

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THE RADHA-KRISHNA THEME IN INDIAN POETRY AND PAINTING

Jaya Appasamy

There is no hard and fast dividing line between the various arts in the Indian tradition Architecture and sculpture merge and often exist together in our temples Sculpture was most often painted and even murals are reminiscent of sculptured reliefs Both sculpture and painting are closely related to the dance for the poses the *mudras* gestures and facial expression are often the same On a less material plane the allusions moods and imagery of Indian thought are common to all the arts Therefore it is not surprising that the Theory of Aesthetics which enumerates the *Rasas* is applied to the various creative fields—literary visual and musical without distinction This continuity one might say is a feature of both art and life Distinction into categories is less important and relatedness and wholeness especially stressed Religion and religious ideas are also not separated from life On the contrary life is ordered on the basis of religion Religious idea find expression not only in the sacred texts but also in stories poetry and drama A great portion of the arts are indeed devoted to India s religions poems become hymns paintings depict the *Leela* of the Gods There is no demarcation between what is sacred and what is secular for life itself is sacred Again the prolific Indian imagination has cast God himself in a multitude of roles Vishnu rests on the great snake Ananta in another incarnation he is also the Boar that rescues the Earth from the abyss he is also Krishna the statesman cowherd and the Supreme Lover of the world This continuity of religion and poetry and passion is seen most eloquently in the Radha Krishna theme and some of our greatest poetry and painting dwells on this paradoxical subject

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Symbolism of Krishna Leela

The concept of the souls search for God is here given an all too human simile It is symbolised by the relationship of lovers, a motif that can be understood by all and is capable of infinite nuances of expression The devotee of the *Bhakti* cults found in the Radha-Krishna theme a beauty which became to him the path of salvation "For him the Krishna Leela is eternal and Brindavan is not this world but the heart of man However deeply men may believe in action and in morality, they realise there is a greater life transcending mere conduct It is then that the soul goes forth on *abhisara* into the darkness of the unconditioned, to yield herself to God This is the significance of the Vaishnava symbolism which is seen in both poetry and painting".

The mediaeval Vaishnava revival was initiated by Ramanuja and developed by such saints as Ramananda, Kabir and Tulsidas The great poets Jayadeva, Vidyapati, Chandidas and others composed immortal poems of praise and brought into prominence the stories of Krishna and the Gopis which are the main theme of Rajasthani art Although the worship of Krishna was not new, the *Bhakti* cult of Radha and Krishna grew and blossomed with all the force of a new revelation inspiring a whole cycle of expression in poetry and painting music and dance Besides its deeply religious roots the second characteristic of the Radha Krishna theme is its lyricism Whether in art or poetry the forms taken by this expression is melodic, pastoral and delicate Its music is that of the heart its rhythms flowing rather than profound When one compares this art to that of the classical phase one perceives that it lays stress on feeling on the emotions rather than on knowledge Again it accepts this everyday world and the inner experience of every man as the fullest possible revelation of Divinity The later writers, Mira Bai, Surdas, Vidyapati, Chandidas, Narsi Mehta and others wrote and sang in the dialects of the people rather than in Sanskrit Through them the regional languages acquired their own particular poetry

The Lyrical Phase

In painting, medieval art also belongs to a new phase that is lyrical We notice a greater reference to this world—to landscape and even locality The streams and hills, the flowering trees, the seasons, animals and birds all form the accompaniment to the love-play of the hero and heroine

Painting moves from earlier archaic styles to the fifteenth century, to more free and vigorous expressions, and finally to courtly and sophisticated idioms The greater portion of Rajasthani and Pahari paintings, when it is not of the court, is devoted to the Radha-Krishna theme and its variations To these artists the work of the poets preceding them was of great importance, for they closely followed the literary motifs Each couplet or verse is a picture in itself it seems to contain rather than describe emotion Thus the closest intimacy exists between verse and its visualisation

To illustrate this intimacy I have chosen a few paintings which I will describe and also cite the verses which inspired them Here is a poem—

> *Rain falls and ceases, all the forest trembles*

Mystery walks the woods once more
We hear a flute

It moves on earth it is the God who plays

With the flute to his lips and music in his breath:

The god is Krishna in his lovely youth

The painting is called *Krishna with his Flute* It is from Basohli, in the Punjab Himalayas and dated about 1740 We see Krishna wearing a long garland and crowned with flowers, he plays the flute in a flowering valley On either side he is flanked by cows, yearning towards him and cowherds bearing freshly plucked lotus The picture is all in one plane and rather hieratic Below is a stylised lotus pool—while the green bank stretches to the top of the painting Krishna himself stands on a huge lotus—which has become a carpet—his bright eyes and blue limbs breathe their own radiance Here is another work, the toilet of Radha from Mewar (1650 A D) The painting is divided into two registers In the upper part Radha is seen seated with five girls in attendance One holds a mirror and the others are helping with her *sringar* The bright flat colours and animated little women are depicted with a naive charm In the lower register Radha is seated on a divan in a garden amidst stylised trees Krishna stands behind a cypress, wearing a formal court dress Radha holds a round mirror which reflects the faces of both Krishna and herself The following verses are superscribed

At first discarding langour she looked into the mirror and then for sometime pounded the camphor Then the fair lady, wearing a bathing sari applied scented oil to her body and wiped it with soft cloths Radha says 'My friend as ill luck would have it how am I to see him, when shyness still sticks to my eyes'.

Meeting of Radha & Krishna—Bundi 1725

In a formal garden with fountains, a lotus pool and trees ranged on its outer rim, Krishna is seen dressed in white in courtly fashion, accompanied by four men attendants On the opposite side is a group of girls Krishna obviously looks only at one of them, Radha, and she at him He was eating pan, but absent mindedly folds and eats the lotus petals instead which causes a flutter amongst the girls This Bundi painting is very decorative and in spite of its formality is also lively and gay The verse inscribed above it on a yellow ground is as follows

The son of Nanda sports in the forest his body is beautified with sandal paste

Seeing Radha a sweet confusion passes through his mind

The pan leaves fall unwittingly, and in their place he eats the lotus petals folding them

At which the gopis their lashes quivering burst out laughing

Hari closes his eyes—ashamed

Krishna and Radha in the Rain—Bundi —late 18th century

This painting is a little iconic in its style though also animated and lyrical In front is a lotus pool beyond it a green bank which gets darker and darker and merges with the dark cloud laden sky Krishna stands beneath an umbrella He embraces Radha while in

the other hand he carries a flute. Lightning flashes in snaky strains across the sky. Both figures are smiling, proud and joyfully radiant, filling the picture with light. On either side of them are flowering trees and gambolling white cows. And here is the poem:

The crashing thunderstorm in its irresistible might splitting and breaking, bending and shaking the trees.

Unmeet for caressing, the groves grew chill; both were afraid, and under one cloth she clung to the dark one.

Now was the shaft to Hari's and Radha's umbrella wrenched aside, and from the gathered clouds fell a torrent of rain;

When the day returned, there as it were beneath a single umbrella, shone resplendent the Three Worlds' beauty.

Both the poem and the painting are surely born from direct experience.

Gopinis Searching for Krishna—Punjab Hills, early 19th century

The scene reveals a hilly landscape with dark trees. Wandering or sitting disconsolately are the *gopis* searching for Krishna who has left them mysteriously. They remember nothing except that he was there and now is gone, the scattered figures and scattered composition resemble a broken garland. A cloudy sky adds to the atmosphere of gloom. "At length, crying violently, they began to say, O Krishna you are a great deceiver; at first, playing the flute, you stole away, unawares, our knowledge, thought, mind and wealth.....Where are we to go and make a home?" (Prem Sagara).

Radha Leaves Krishna—Nurpur-1750

Two rows of dark green trees, one above the other make a stark pattern on a burning yellow back ground. A strip of sky above and the road below are also depicted as blue green. Flowering sprays break the dark silhouette of the trees. To the right is Krishna handsomely attired in a yellow *dhoti* and red *angavastra* and wearing a jewelled crown and garland of white blossoms. He raises his hand in an importunate gesture calling Radha to him. And she at the left end of the painting also raises her hand briefly acknowledging his call—but is nevertheless going away. Moving lightly on she looks back momentarily casting him a fleeting smile.

Coming from afar

Suddenly she came in sight: but turning her face to him with a smile she took the right hand road.

Krishna called, 'Wait, hear my prayer' but she replied,

'I hear, my lord, I hear, I hear' and went away.....

Radha Complains to a Friend—Basohli —1680

The scene shows a house, beside it a garden with trees and lotus pool. In a lower room, richly carpeted, sit two women The agitated Radha casts her hands up in despair. She explains Krishna's faithlessness to a confidante. The delicate jewelled beauty of the two girls is echoed by the decorative landscape dotted with numberless birds. The upper storey of the house displays an empty bedroom.

And now the poem

He left me saying he would be back tomorrow

I've covered the floor of my home writing 'tomorrow'.

When dawn came they all enquired

Tell us friend when will your tomorrow come?

Tomorrow, tomorrow, I gave up my hopes

My beloved never came to me

Vidyapati Says listen my beautiful one

The other woman stopped him there

The Greatest Influence

In conclusion Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* can perhaps be considered a conspicuous example of the unity of the arts in India and the greatest work on the Radha Krishna theme Here is a poem or verse drama —written by a poet in the twelfth century —which has for 600 years continued to inspire not only other literatures but also music, dance and painting The medieval sensibility found as it were a theme entirely suited to its mood Religious romantic and decorative its interpretations delighted the taste of successive generations of creative artists all over India Among its greatest merits was the fact that it was 'of the people' and as such persisted in an oral tradition to the present day At Kenduli in Bengal, Jayadeva's birthplace n *mela* is celebrated annually where the Baul singers even now sing of Radha and Krishna as intimate people they have known and seen The thousand and one moods of their love are distilled into gems of aesthetic beauty and at the same time are the fervent prayers and longings of the soul.

KRISHNA LEELA IN STONE

O. C. Gangoly

I am charged with the amiable and fascinating task of describing the Krishna leela presented in stone sculpture in Northern India This gives me a happy opportunity of circumambulating the northern monuments with a view to pay my respects to the representations of *Krishna leela* in stone

It is well known that many Vaishnava monuments have been destroyed by the hostile tribes that invaded India It is therefore possible that many representations may have been destroyed We can only describe such specimens as have survived the ruthless attacks of Time and cruel invadors In the *Srimadbhagavata* (Chapter VII) as many as thirteen Krishna leelas or Divine Pastimes of Krishna are enumerated We do not know if all these Divine Pastimes were represented by artists We can describe only such of them as have survived

Govardhan-leela in Stone

So far as we can judge some were depicted on stones and some illustrated on pictures The *Kansabadha leela* not specifically mentioned in the text of the *Bhagavata* is referred to in the text of Patanjali (the commentator of Panini in the fourth century B C) as being pictorially represented by picture showmen (*Sovonika*) on their picture rolls But no Kansabadha lila appears to have survived in stone representations We are fortunate however in coming across the *Girigovardhana leela*

(uplifting of the Govardhana hill) in several representations from the first to the fifth century This topic appears to have been very popular both with the stone masons and the painters In the text it is numbered as the eighth *leela* and is described thus 'When Krishna was seven years old Indra the Vedic god was enraged at the interruption of the *yajna* hitherto dedicated to him by the cowberds and punished them with rain and thunder lasting for seven days Witnessing this calamity Krishna out of his divine compassion and love held up the hill Govardhana on his Little finger for seven days in order to protect the cattle victims of Indra's anger'

Initiation of Giri-yajna

In the *Vishnu parvam* of the *Harivamsa* believed to be a supplement to the *Mahabharata* Krishna challenges the utility of observing the old festival in honour of Indra still practised by the shepherd tribes of Vrindavan An old tribesman explains to Krishna why Indra as the giver of rains is worshipped by the cowberd tribes The logic was simple The rains make the grass grow and the crops to flourish to feed men and animals Since the rains help the growth of the grass—the food for the cattle—therefore the Giver of Rain (Indra) is celebrated in a festival by the herdsmen as well as by others

Krishna therefore initiates a new form of worship *giri yajna* a sacrifice in honour of the wooded hill Govardhana The new festival to honour the King of the Hills is then celebrated under the direction of Krishna with plenty of gifts and rituals terminating in a picturesque circumambulation of the hill described with many piquant details

This heroic feat of Krishna has been rendered in beautiful Sanskrit verses by the celebrated Vaishnava devotee Sri Vilwamangala Thakur the greatest hagiologist (*Stuti rachanakara*) of Vaishnava literature under the name of *Bala Gopala Stuti* still unpublished from which I quote below

Yo helaya gokula gopanaya
Govardhanam bhudharam urdhva dhara
Khinna sakampah sababhuva
Radha payodhara kshmadharadarsanena

(He who as if in a mood of boyish prank upheld and held aloft the Mount Govardhana to protect the villages of Gokula at the sight of Radha s bosom which resembled the hillock Kshmadhara became agitated and exhausted)

Shakatamochana-Leela

One of the *leelas* of Krishna is *Shakatamochana*, which is represented in stone in a small specimen in the Mathura Museum There is some difference of opinion as to what this *leela* actually means According to the *Bhagavata* it is a swing (dola) in which Yashoda placed Krishna who by manipulating his legs released himself from the swing and fell on the ground This is *Shakatamochana* According to *Brahmanda Purana* it is the vanquishing of the Shakatasura

In Dr Goetz s volume on *Architecture of Bikaner* he has cited several examples of *Krishna leela* one of them being *Girigovardhandharana* ascribed to the Gupta period but the clumsy style of the rendering of the hill bespeaks a primitive stage From our point of view the several examples of *Girigovardhan leela* in the Mathura School are

very significant The earlier of the two represents un archaic treatment of the hill arranged in conical shape

But the second example, also of the Mathura School, is of great interest as the ridges of the hill are rendered in the horizontal lines, each supporting a cattle On both sides of the lower part are two cowherd boys holding clubs The hill on the top is the flat piece but the whole composition is dignified representation of the feat

Masterpieces of the Gupta Period

But the masterpiece of this subject is in the collection of Bharat Kala Parishad, Benares attributed to the Gupta period The peculiar feature of this piece is the conventional representation of the hill, in the shape of a group of brick work According to a German scholar this manner of representing hills by brick-work is derived from extra-Indian sources It now remains to review *Krishna-leela* in stone and in terracotta represented in the famous temple of Paharpur (Dinajpur) attributed to seventh century A D A powerful representation is *Dhenukasurabadha leela* but the most important example is *Gingovardhandharana* which shows certain features that are highly significant In all the examples cited there is no representation of Radhika—she is represented in the famous *pallava* panel at Mahabalipuram In the Paharpur piece Radhika appears in a significant pose touching the body of Krishna This is supported by a humorous dialogue between two birds, Sukha and Sari The first being an admirer of Krishna and the second of Radha Sukha says, "My Krishna had uplifted the hill," to which Sari answers, "My Radhika had provided the strength, or else how could he lift it?' I cite the original Bengali text, which is full of graceful wit

> *Sukha valay amar Krishna giridhoray chhilo, shari valey amar radha bala sancharilo, naile parve keno ?*

The *Krishna leelas* have for ages past illuminated the pages of Indian literature and art and it is to be hoped that it will continue to do so for ages to come

KRISHNA THEME AND THE MUSIC OF BENGAL

Dilip Kumar Mukherjee

It is a matter of pleasant coincidence that the Krishna theme formed the subject of the first great musical composition of Bengal—I mean Jayadeva's *Geeta Govinda*

Before taking up the subject of the Krishna theme and culture of music in Bengal a short introductory discussion on the historical background of the Krishna cult in North India is necessary The Vaishnava faith in India will have to be considered also because most of the principal Vaishnavarta sects of Northern India had extolled Krishna as the central figure of Vaishnavism

Moreover special note has to be taken of Bengal Vaishnavism which though derived more or less from Vaishnavism in general is composed of some elements which are peculiar to Bengal and almost unique The foremost of these elements is the doctrine of *Bhakti* i e the emotional service of devotion for spiritual realisation and the other equally important one is the Krishna cult which is inseparably mixed with the former

The Bhakti Movement

In the field of Bengal Vaishnavism the word *Bhakti* has got a special significance not noticed in many of the sects of prevalent Hinduism This special connotation is the result of both teachings and experiences of saints and devotees and historical development discussions on which will not be within the scope of this article

In short it can be traced from the early Vishnuism and Narayana worship of the *Mahabharata* to the much later form in Bhagavatism and Krishna Vasudeva worship of the *Bhagavad Gita*

On this basis grew the late Bhakti works and as a doctrine it went on till the end of eight century A D Ultimately Vaishnavism was revived on a grand scale in the subsequent centuries and by the twelfth century A.D four distinct schools of thought became manifest in the Vaishnava movement These are *Sri Sampradaya* of Ramanuja *Brahma Sampradaya* of Madhva *Rudra Sampradaya*

of Vallabhacharya and *Sanakadi-Sampradaya* of Nimbarka Of these, the Ramanuja sect prefers the Rama incarnation, but in Northern India the other three sects, i e, the Madhava, Vallabha and Nimbarka adore Krishna, the central and most popular figure of the Vaishnava faith Krishna's eternal consort in Vrindavana- *lila* appeared later in the Vaishnava emotionale and was unknown in early Vaishnava literature

Jayadeva's Inspiration

In Bengal, the Vaishnava *Bhakti* cult and also Radha Krishna cult emerged in a finished literary form in the songs of *Gita Govinda* composed by Jayadeva, the court-singer and poet of the Vaishnavaite King Lakshman Sena about the end of 12th century A D Before Jayadeva, no other musico-literary creation worth the name was done in Bengal where the central theme was Krishna

Some scholars are of the opinion that Jayadeva's source of inspiration in composing the *Gita Govinda* was not Krishna-Gopi legend of *Srimad-bhagavata* because the latter work did not mention Radha as Krishna's consort

According to them Jayadeva was not directly indebted to the *Brahmavavarta Purana* which presented Radha in the environment of colourful charm much more than any other *Purana* In the *Brahma vaivarta Purana* Krishna and Radha are legally married, whereas in Bengal Vaishnavism the relations between Krishna and Radha is the *Parakiya* one

Of course there are some parallelisms between the *Gita Govinda* and *Brahmavaivarta Purana*, viz both the *Madhurya* and *Aishwarya* aspects of Krishna worship are expressed in the two works, and the exaltation of Radha is made in both of them In this respect, the scholars conclude that the source of inspiration of the Radha legend of the writers of *Gita Govinda* and *Brahmavaivarta Purana* is to be traced to a different and earlier source, which is not yet known

Gita Govinda and Charya Gitis

Before the advent of Jayadeva, *Charyapadas* or *Charya Gitis* were prevalent in Bengal for about a couple of centuries These *Charya Gitis* were mystic songs composed by *siddhacharyas* or spiritual masters who were mostly Buddhist *yogis* and had attained *Siddhi* These *padas* expressed the religious tenets of *Sahajiya* Buddhism in general From the 10th century A D and a little earlier *Charya Gitis* were composed in the eastern province of India along with other *Prabandha ganas* and they are considered as *Prakeerna* type of *Prabandha* with some particular features The meter employed in them was the popular *Paddhari* or the Sanskrit *Pajjhatika* and names of the *Ragas* were also mentioned therein and the songs were sung in the skeleton of those *Ragas*

When Jayadeva composed the songs of *Gita Govinda*, the *Charya Padas* were familiar in the field of music of Bengal According to some scholars, *Gita Govinda Pada ganas* of Jayadeva might have been constructed after the form of *Charya Gitis* In other words, they opine that the musical structure of *Gita Govinda* followed the ideal of *Charya* and *Vajra Ganas* But the subject chosen by Jayadeva was the first of its kind in Bengal—the Vaishnavite Krishna theme

Radha-Krishna Tattwa

In *Gita Govinda* the central theme of the songs is Sri Krishna and he has been recognised as the embodiment of *Shringara*, not in the vulgar sense but which may be called the prime sentiment. In the ultimate analysis, the songs of *Gita Govinda* are composed as means of worship and devotion in two-fold ways—*Aishwarya* in *Vidhimarga* and *Madhurya* in the form of *rasaswadana*, i.e., realisation of the divine aesthetic sentiments

It is clearly seen that *Radha Krishna tattwa* or cult is the fundamental theme of the songs of Jayadeva, the celebrated music composer and poet He first popularised in Bengal the Radha Krishna cult and most of the prominent productions in the field of music in the middle ages of this province followed his example in adopting the Krishna theme

Jayadeva's treatment of the Krishna theme in his *Gita Govinda* established himself in an ideal position before the talented music composers of the Bengal Vaishnava faith Thus Radha Krishna cult was taken up as the main theme for their music compositions by the leading Vaishnavaite composers of different times, such as Vadu Chandidasa, Narottama Thakur, Dwija Chandidasa, Vasudeva Ghosh, *Govindadasa*, *Jnanadasa* Deena Chandidasa, Ghanashyamdasa Valaram dasa and scores of other Mahajana composers Though the forms of their music compositions were not all the same, they all adopted the Krishna theme as first popularised by Jayadeva in his immortal *Gita Govinda*

The emergence of Jayadeva in the field of music with his Krishna theme is a land mark in the history of music of this province Because from the time of Jayadeva, Bengal began to establish her own traditions in *Prabandha Sangeeta* which came to influence deeply the course of music in Bengal for several centuries onward

Let me recall, in brief, how Jayadeva treated the Krishna theme in his composition of *Gita Govinda* There are twelve *Sargas* or chapters of *Gita Govinda* to describe the divinely sportive plays of Radha and Krishna, the heroine and the hero of these *padas* Jayadeva has named each of these chapters after a divine aspect of Sri Krishna, viz., *Samode Damodarah Aklesh Keshavah Mugdha Madhusudanah Snigdha Madhusudanah, Sakankha Pundarika, Dhristha Vaikunthah, Nagara Narayanah, Vilaksha Lakshipatih, Mugdha-Mukundah Mugdha Madhavah, Sananda Govinda* and *Suprita-Pitambarah*

Thus Jayadeva, the greatest and most famous Vaishnava poet musician of Bengal, by selecting Krishna theme and skilfully utilising the divine love story of Radha and Krishna in a semi dramatic mould paved the way for the later composers to take up this theme

Following the tradition of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* and specially after the advent of Sri Chaitanya, the great founder of Bengal Vaishnavism, Vrindavana hero Sri Krishna became so much popular among the music-composers and music lovers of Bengal that this well known proverb was in vogue—'there is no song other than Kanu,' i.e., Krishna

Vadu Chandidas and later day Composers

Chronologically, the most noteworthy poet composer after Jayadeva to adopt the Krishna theme was Vadu Chandidasa After about three centuries from the time of Jayadeva, i e by the latter half of 15th century A D, Vadu Chandidasa composed his song drama entitled *Sri Krishna Kirtana* As the name implies, Krishna is the central theme and the main character The other two characters are Radha and Varayi It may be mentioned here that *Sri Krishna Kirtana* is the earliest musico literary creation in the Bengali language which is based on the Krishna theme Being composed in indigenous language of Bengal and sung by and among the rural populace, *Sri Krishna Kirtana* went a long way in popularising the Radha Krishna cult in this province From a study of the songs composed in *Sri Krishna Kirtana*, it can be gathered that the *prabandha* type of song initiated to a great extent by Jayadeva in his *Gita Govinda* was in vogue for a pretty long time in Bengal.

In the musical productions of Bengal under the faith of Bengal Vaishnavism Krishna theme is always treated along with his divine consort and heroine Radha Krishna is never conceived without Radha This typical Bengali Vaishnava attitude is expressed in all the worthy compositions of Bengal from the Sanskrit *Gita Govinda* Bengali *Sri Krishna Kirtana* down to the *Padavali Kirtana* composed by Vaishnava Mahajana Padakartas in Vrajbhasha and Bengali language

Thus Krishna theme or to be more precise Radha Krishna *tattva* is the inseparable connecting link throughout the music traditions of Bengal stretching over a period of about six hundred years—from Jayadeva to later *Padavali Kirtana* composers

Padavali Kirtana

After Vadu Chandidasa the most important creation in the field of music during in middle ages of Bengal was the *Padavali Kirtana* by the Vaishnava Mahajana Composers About fifty years since the demise of Sri Chaitanya in 1533 A.D, i e in the early eighties of the 16th century, *Padavali Kirtana* system of song was first introduced in Beogali by Narottam Thakur in the great Vaishnava festival at Khetari in North Bengal

Padavali Kirtana took up Krishna theme and the central principle of *Radha Krishna tattva* together with *rasa tattva* from those of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* which is so dear to the hearts of Bengal Vaishnavas and for which Jayadeva is acclaimed by them as a *Sadhaka* belonging to their sect Thus we find *mana dana khandita, mathura rasa naukavilas* and other episodes of *Kirtana leela* in the different *palaganas* composed in the *Padavali Kirtana* The later Vaishnava Mahajanas got inspiration for composing those *pada ganas* like *dana mathura* etc of the *Padavali Kirtana* from the ideas expressed by Jayadeva in the following lines depicting the different sportive ideas and images—(1) *Virahati Haririha Sarasa vasante* etc, (2) *Vrinda vana vipine parisara parigata Yamuna jalapine* etc, (3) *Govindam Vraja sundarigana vritam* etc, (4) *Radha Madhava hridaya tatyaja Vraja sundarih* etc., (5) *Smara garala Khandanam mama Shirashi mandanam dehi pada pallava mudaram* etc, (6) *Dhira Samire Yamuna tiray vasati vane vanamali* etc, (7) *Vrinda vana vipine lalitam vitanati* etc

Narottamadasa and the Mystics

Thakur Narottamadasa introduced the novel course in the *Padavali Kirtana* in slow tempo of the mode of classical *dhrupada* music of Northern India The system of *Padavali Kirtana* organised by Narottamadasa came to be recognised as *Garerhati* or *Garanhati* type of Kirtana Later, *Manoharshahi*, *Reveti*, *Mandarini* and *Jharkhandi* styles of Kirtana singing were evolved with their differing features but all of them had adopted the Krishna theme and Radha-Krishna *tattwa* as their principal base The divine aspects of Sri Krishna as described by Jayadeva in the twelve *sargas* or chapters of *Gita Govinda* were followed by the composers of *Padavali Kirtana*

These mystic Vaishnava composers have depicted Sri Krishna as the hero of these *palas* and described the *palas* or plots to narrate the different sportive plays of Radha and Krishna Krishna and Radha the divine hero and heroine of the *palas* form the central theme and all these plots are saturated with aesthetic sentiments and modes, i e *rasas and bhavas* Of course, the later composers have fully divinised the theme of the Padavalis with the help of the Vaishnavite *alamkarikas* like Rupa Goswami Kavi Karnapura and others who have elaborately described the sixtyfour sentiments in their works, such as *Ujjala nilmony Bhaktirasamrita sindhu Alam kara Kaustubha* etc in connection with the *Padavali Kirtana* The Vaishnava Goswamins, like Jayadeva have also divided the prime sentiment, *sringara* into *vipra lambha* and *sambhoga*

Musical Structure and Emotional Content

Thus the entire basis of the remarkable musical production *Padavali Kirtana* was evolved on the Krishna theme as far as the subject matter or poetical part is concerned Whereas the musical structure of the sweet, aesthetic and sophisticated *Padavali Kirtana* is a classical type of *nibaddha-karana-pravandha gana* It contains *dhatu tal raga* and different emotional contents By nature, *Padavali Kirtana* is spiritual with intense devotion at its root comprising the Radha-Krishna cult For all these, *Padavali Kirtana* has established a distinct tradition in the field of music of Bengal with a typical feature of its own The music system of *Padavali Kirtana* is one unique creation for its method of improvisation The literary form of the song is expressed mostly by the melodiously sweet Vrajabuli language

Padavali Kirtana on Krishna theme was in vogue in the field of music as a living force up to the middle of the nineteenth century in this sense that talented *Padavali Kirtana* composers appeared up to that period in Bengal After that time, no worthy composition of *Kirtana Padavalis* was done though it may be noted that *Padavali Kirtana* is sung and appreciated as one of the most appealing forms of music even to-day and Krishna is the central theme of all these songs Thus, beginning from the musical production of Jayadeva in the second half of the twelfth century A D down to recent times Krishna theme is the base on which was built the glorious edifice of indigenous music of Bengal

KRISHNA IN KUCHIPUDI REPERTOIRE

Banda Kanakalingeswara Rao

Maharshi Vedavyasa has written *Maha bharata Maha Bhagvata* and *Harivamsa* in Sanskrit which are considered to be the greatest classics next to *Ramayana*. In all the above classics the moving and the inspiring personality is Lord Sri Krishna He is depicted in various aspects in the above three classics In the *Mahabharata* he is a seasoned statesman dedicated to the victory of the Pandavas He took it as the victory of Righteousness over Evil He directs the Pandavas at every moment He is the greatest Ambassador of his time He saves the Pandavas from disaster and is the Charioteer of Victory He is *Nara yana* while Arjuna is *Nara* It is as much as to say that the forces divine and human are combined to achieve victory of good over the evil When Arjuna lays down his bow in the battlefield at a crucial moment Lord Krishna not only inspires in him courage but explains the implications of human life and existence He tells him that 'duty is first and the last' When Arjuna is not satisfied Lord Krishna shows him his *Viswarupa*—the manifold personality of himself Here Krishna is revealed as the superhuman personality Krishna is the friend guide and philosopher to Arjuna

Both Human and Divine

In the *Maha Bhagavata* we see Krishna as a mystic personality He does many super human deeds to save his clan from disaster He is represented as the god of gods Indra bows to him All the gods sing in praise of him He is the super human leader of his Yadava clan Yadavas, irrespective of sex, love him adore him, play with him and worship him He saves them from many a peril Even as a child he does many things that show his divine

origin He is born in a gaol which symbolises the bondage of humanity He extricates not only himself but all his clan from bondage But according to *Maha Bhagavata* Krishna's end is very sad He is wounded by an insignificant hunter His clan is subjected to humility by petty hunters This shows that however great one may be the shadow of Fate is always dogging his heels

In the next classic, the *Harivamsa Purana* of Vedavyasa the life of Lord Krishna is portrayed in detail. He is more human than divine He is the delight of the people He enjoys the pleasures of *senses like any ordinary human being There* are quarrels in the harem He is subjected to pressures It is almost the history of a great aristocrat Thus we see him in various personalities in the three great epics attributed to Vedavyasa

Krishna in Andhra

These Sanskrit epics have been translated into Telugu by three great poets no less eminent than Vedavyasa During the eleventh century the great Chalukya ruler Rajaraja Narendra of Rajahmundry requested Vaganusasana Nannya Bhattaraka his court poet to translate Sanskrit *Mahabharata* into Telugu so that the twice born and the non twice born subjects of his empire may learn the gist of the *Vedas* through the *Mahabharata* This translation was highly appreciated and is perhaps the first Telugu classic It was later completed by Kavi Brahma Tikkayajwa and by Prabandha Parameswara Yerra Pragada of fourteenth century

Maha Bhagavatam was translated by Bammera Pothana Amatya in a very clear and lucid style Pothana was a devotee of Lord Krishna He worshipped Krishna with the same devotion as Tulasidas worshipped Rama Devotion is the essence of this *Maha Bhagavata* Yerra Pragada one of the trio who translated *Mahabharata* translated *Harivamsa* also It was really a literal translation But Naachara Soma of the same century translated the same *Harivamsa* in a most powerful style With these two translations of *Harivamsa* the legends of Lord Krishna became very popular throughout the Andhra country This is not all To carry the Krishna legend nearer to the folk, several poets of Telugu literature composed *Yakshaganas* which were considered to be the most potent media of folk literature *Golla Kathas* and other forms of ballads were presented in every nook and corner of the villages to make the Krishna legends popular Thus by the fourteenth century the legends were sung in groups and *bhajans* were a part of social festivals Krishna was given the place of an idol in temples He was termed as *Mokshapradata* Many such temples were erected The cult of Krishna worship became very popular while the Buddhist and Jain temples lost their glory The other popular creeds of worship were Shaiva and Vaishnava Even the great pandits recited *Bhagavad Gita* as a means to salvation.

Gita Govinda and Madhura Bhakti

During this period Narahari Teertha the great disciple of Ananda Teertha founder of Dwaita philosophy visited Andhra region as a regent of the Prince of Kalinga Empire Narahari Teertha stayed at Srikakulam in the Krishna District of Andhra Pradesh for twelve years He brought with him the text of *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva and also

many musicians and dancers who were well versed in presenting *Gita Govinda* As a result the cult of Sri Krishna went deep into the masses *Gita Govinda* was danced by every Devadasi in the temples of Srikakulam The philosophy of *Madhura Bhakti* was popular with one and all The implication of *Madhura Bhakti* is that Lord Krishna is the only Purusha (male) and all other human beings are *Gopikas* of Brindavana *Rasa Kreeda* as a group dance has become popular *Harivamsa* text was composed in Sanskrit songs suitable for dance by Gopalkrishna Bharati Radha Krishna cult had become popular by that time Philosophic interpretation was given to Radha Krishna romances Radha was interpreted as *Prakriti* (creation) while Krishna was said to symbolise *Parama Purusha* (the creator)

Founder of Kuchipudi School

At this stage a sage Siddhendra by name founded the Kuchipudi school of dance He was a child uncared for and fell into lazy ways Rebuked by elders for his vagaries he took shelter in a monastery founded by Narachari Teertha This was during the middle of the fifteenth century The head of the institution took pity on him and sent him to Udipi Mutt for studying *Vedas* etc He became a great scholar in no time not only in *Vedas* but also in *Natya Sastra* and music He returned to his native place to meet his wife wedded to him at the age of five He was crossing the river Krishna which was in spate Suddenly a thunder storm broke and as he was about to be drowned he took to *Atura Sanyasa* a form of renunciation from earthly and sensuous pleasures He abandoned his wife and trained his love towards God He wrote *Bhama Kalapam* the *magnum opus* of the Kuchipudi dance drama He trained boys of Brahmin families and gave performances of *Bhama Kalapam* all over Andhra He founded the village of Kuchipudi as an exclusive residence for his dancers The village was later given as an *inam* to dancers by Abdul Hasan Tahisha the Nawab of Golconda Even today there are about two hundred families devoted to the Kuchipudi form of dance They take a vow to act the role of Bhama at least once in their life time

Bhama Kalapam

What is Bhama Kalapam ? Bhama Kalapam is a dance drama and the theme is a parallel ont to *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva While Radha is the heroine of *Gita Govinda* Satyabhama the most beautiful among the wives of Krishna is the heroine of *Bhama Kalapam* The theme is as follows

Lord Krishna had eight wives The eldest among them was Rukmini a great devotee She was taken to be the incarnation of Lakshmi She was unassuming and dignified Satyabhama the daughter of Satyajit was another wife of Lord Krishna She was the most beautiful woman of her time and was conscious of her own beauty She was a proud lady As such she felt that she had an exclusive claim over Lord Krishna and sought his embrace eternally But Lord Krishna was *Dakshina Nayaka* He maintained equal affection for all his wives and was never partial to the one or the other One day Lord Krishna Satyabhama and Rukmini were in a happy mood The Sage Narada brought a celestial flower *Parijata* from Indra s garden and presented it to

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Lord Krishna who in turn gave it to his eldest wife Rukmini This created envy Satyabhama abused Lord Krishna for having shown partiality to Rukmini Unable to withstand the accusations, Lord Krishna requested Indra, the possessor of the celestial tree to get it planted in Krishna's palace Indra refused Krishna declared war on Indra and secured the celestial tree by force He planted it in Satyabhama's palace Bhama was very much pleased Since then Krishna remained with her neglecting the other wives Bhama was intoxicated with love and assumed command over her lord One day Lord Krishna and Satyabhama were standing before a mirror in Bhama's chamber wearing all the beautiful clothes and ornaments Krishna asked Bhama as to who of them was the more beautiful Bhama asserted that she was more beautiful than Lord Krishna Krishna wanted her to realise that it was he who lent significance to her So he left her in haste pretending to have been insulted He never returned to her Bhama feels his absence and begins to realise that she has no exclusive sway over him She pines for him and wants him to come back to her She narrates her suffering to her maid She tells her that the God of Love has her in his thrall She goes in search of the Lord but nowhere could she find him So she requests her maid to go as a messenger She writes a letter in which she tells of her surrender and pleads for his return She seeks the good offices of the maid servant who refused to go without remuneration for her task One by one Bhama gives away all her ornaments as remuneration to the messenger She is now entirely bereft of jewels She is simple and undecorated which suits her present mood The Lord receives the message and comes back to Bhama But Bhama pretends anger When the Lord apologises for having left her and touches her feet expressing repentence she kicks him on his head with her left foot But Krishna does not leave her He implores for her mercy On the advice of the maid Bhama repents for her hasty actions but upbraids him for his past deeds He swears that he is deeply in love with her The oaths are contradicated by Bhama as futile Finally, the maid advises Bhama not to lose the opportunity of Lord's presence Bhama conveniently forgets her reproaches and melts in the Lord's embrace This is the story of *Bhama Kalapam*

Bhama and Radha

In *Gita Govinda* the theme is the same but the heroine is Radha Arrogance as characteristic of Satyabhama, is not to be found in Radha She expresses anger only when the Lord has the company of other ladies The question is why should Siddhendra take Satyabhama, the proudest of the Lord's wives as his heroine? A search for the answers reveals the cult of Krishna in Kuchipudi repertoire The first point is that Siddhendra took to renunciation in the prime of his youth He had a beautiful wife but he left her He wanted to stand by his vow of renunciation But inspite of the renunciation at a moment of danger for his life his ever romantic temperament did not completely change So he elevated his romantic feelings to a divine level and composed *Bhama Kalapam* identifying himself with Satyabhama This was the seed of *Madhura Bhakti* that later grew and flowered into Kuchipudi style of dancing treating Lord Krishna as the only *Purusha*

While Bhama is eager to have him by her side to the exclusion of others, she knows in the heart of hearts that it is impossible She wants to win him over by abuse but ultimately she realises that she is only one among the many wives Lord Krishna yields only on her repentence

The Grand Finale

Bhama Kalapam is a romantic theme, very human and touching At the end Bhama expresses her regret and through the medium of *ninda stuti* (devotion by abuse) realises that he is the Supreme Lord She does not like to deny his supremacy When Lord Krishna swears that he has immense love for her, she questions the oath itself The last song of *Bhama Kalapam* is an excellent composition, written by Siddhendra Yogi This is the essence of Kuchipudi concept of Lord Krishna The song is a duet between Krishna and Bhama When Bhama questions his sincerity Krishna swears by the fire Bhama doubts it, because Krishna has swallowed fire on one occasion She says that it is no use to swear by the fire and the oath has no meaning for a man who swallowed fire Krishna again swears by the cow, the sacred animal for the Yadava clan She says that he was a cowherd boy and during his boyhood he was grazing them and even punishing them when they went astray As such the oath does not carry any weight He then swears by the snake She replies that for a boy who danced on the hood of *Kaliya* the lord of snakes, the bonafides of the oath is questionable.. He then swears by the gods Bhama says 'You are the god of gods, all the other gods are subservient to you, how can I believe your oath, when you swear by the gods' It implies that he is the Incarnation of the Supreme When the fact of his avatara-hood flashed through her mind, she realises her folly and falls at his feet to worship him The illusion disappears She unites with him once and for all. She realises that she is only one among the living beings created by him She had only a share in the affluence of his divine love She feels humiliated and thus becomes one with him The symbolism of the union of *Jeevatma* and *Paramatma* is displayed in the end In fact, this is the *Bhagavata Sampradaya* of Kuchipudi repertoire

Later Compositions

Later writers of Kuchipudi dance dramas like Kshetrayya and Narayana Teertha composed songs and song dramas in praise of Lord Krishna in his various aspects While Kshetrayya portrayed himself as a *Nayaka* yearning for the love the Lord, *Narayana* Teertha composed *Krishna Leela Taragini* depicting the mystic aspects of the Lord in Sanskrit Leela Suka composed *Sreekrishna Karnamrut* in Sanskrit This is entirely a devotional piece depicting Lord Krishna as Incarnation of God All these compositions are included in the repertoire of Kuchipudi from time to time Finally in Kuchipudi concept Lord Krishna, is a romantic hero, human in approach the Lord of all the living beings as well as the divine beings, a mystic personality and an Incarnation of the Supreme He is within the reach of all devotees He is seated on the throne of his devotees' hearts He alone is their salvation He is both divine and human at the same time

KRISHNA LORE IN KATHAK

Maya Rao

The Origin of Kathak

While the historians of Dance are lost in the maze of records to trace the origin of the Kathak style of dance the veteran Gurus of Kathak seem to have no such problems To them Kathak is their image of Krishna's Dance translated into song and movement[1] Elaborating on this conception Guru Shambhu Maharaj one of the celebrated Gurus would say that one of his ancestors saw a vision of Shri Krishna dancing with the Gopis in Vrindavan and the impact of the image was so overpowering that he rendered it in his own style which flowered into the beautiful Kathak dance This explanation may seem too naive or even a myth eluding reason but yet it speaks of the significant influence of the Krishna cult on the people whose upsurging feelings for the deity found expression in poetry, song, dance and painting and also remained as a vital part of the cultural heritage of our country Kathak was one form which emerged from the out-pouring devotion of the *Kathakas* or story tellers who narrated the glories of Shri Krishna in song and dance in the temples of North India Apart from this were the *Ras Leela* dance dramas too performed in the temples of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan which recreated the inspiring incidents from the life of Krishna as an integral part

of the worship According to the records the dance-content of these *leelas* evolved into a definite classical pattern which is the Kathak styles of dance,

Thus steeped in the devotion of Krishna the whole concept of Kathak is based on the poetic visualisation of the dance of Krishna One of the most popular *Kavitas* being

Natwar nachat sangeeta geeta
Vividha bhanti gati nayi nayi
Ta para paga nu nupur baje
Tho diga diga tram tram thai

(As Krishna dances to the accompaniment of melody and song displaying various gaits, the jingles on his feet vibrate with ecstasy the syllables 'tro diga diga tram tram thai')

Incidentally these are the basic syllables with which all the rhythmic patterns of the *Nritta* of Kathak are woven even to this day

Looking back into the evolution of Kathak, I feel that it is this strong under current of belief and devotedness to Krishna in the performers which helped the dance style survive even the worst onslaughts on the art during various invasions in the region

The Expressive Aspect A Revival

It is remarkable how the *Kathakas* maintained the stream of Krishna legend with a thin camaflouge of seemingly secular themes and decorative gestures in the courts of the Moghuls and other Muslim rulers And once they found the climate congenial the *Kathakas* refreshed the stream of Krishna theme in full force One of the reasons for stifling the expressive aspect of Kathak during its phase as an entertainment in the Moghul courts was that the *Nritya* and *Abhinaya* were charged with religious fervour for Krishna and the dance sequences bespoke of the spiritual significance of the *Rās* of Krishna Fortunately enough Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Lucknow who patronised the art, discovered this void in Kathak and strove to restore the expressive aspect which would have otherwise faded into oblivion In the Kathak performances presented at his court, Wajid Ali Shah found an overbalancing dominance of the technical aspect or the *Nritta* wherein dancers excelled in a display of virtuosity Delving deep into the cause of the Kathaks' neglect of *Abhinaya* Wajid Ali Shah endeavoured to reinstate the vital Krishna concept in the art which would otherwise be soulless In this process he made valiant attemts to recreate the *Ras Leela* dance drama in his own production called *Rahas* Though at times garbed in Persian imagery the episodes of Krishna s life were convincingly portrayed in the *Rasas* l Wajid Ali Shah composed *Thumris* (love lyrics rendered in music) which contributed to the heightening of the expressive aspect Wajid Ali s pioneering endeavours stimulated the Hindu exponents like Thakur Prasad Bindadin etc. to compose songs on their favourite theme Thus in no time the treasure house of Kathak was filled with the *Bhajans Thumris* and *Kavitas* portraying the idyllic love of the God Shri Krishna

The Metaphysical Aspect

A study of the repertoire of Kathak makes it explicit that the *Bhagavata Purana* initially has had a strong influence on the dancers in the interpretation of the leelas

of Krishna Also that it is only Krishna as the young cowherd and the Divine Lover that has inspired them There is hardly any episode in the whole gamut of Kathak which refers to Krishna as a prince in Dwarka or as a preacher of the philosophy of *Karma* It is also strange that Radha reigns supreme in the scheme of Kathak though she has no place in *Bhagawata Purana*

The Kathakas have concentrated on the theme of Krishna in the metaphysical concept as *Paramatma* luring the *Jeevatama* towards Him In other words the essence of the *Ras* concept is unfolded in a series of thematic dance sequences in Kathak especially in the *Abhinaya*

In the portrayal of scenes of Krishna as a child in Gokul there is a striking resemblance to Surdas' interpretation wherein he dwells on the sports of Krishna stealing butter, waylaying Gopis, in the process of which he alternately reveals his true identity as the supreme Lord and yet a mere affectionate child In the later part too, in keeping with Surdas, Krishna is portrayed as a paradox of flesh and spirit

The Different Episodes

The *Kawtas* and *Paraus* (descriptive stanzas woven in rhythmic patterns) delineate the vigorous aspect of Krishna as a young boy destroying Asuras and bringing peace to the people In this part the *Kaliya Daman* the episode describing the destruction of the venomous snake Kaliya who was a menace to the people of Braj is very popularly rendered as Krishna's Tandava dance In his role as the supreme Saviour, the *Govardhan Leela* is highly popular The episode describes how Krishna lifted the Govardhan mountain to save the people of Vraj from the deluge caused by the wrath of Indra Indra was incensed by the ignoring of the annual offering to him by the people who heeded Krishna's advice

The episodes of Krishna stealing butter and waylaying the Gopis are portrayed in innumerable series of *Gat-bhav* in Kathak (*Gat-bhav* is a lyrical interpretation of the episodes rendered to the accompaniment of a melody and rhythm with no song to help) Apart from intepretation in *Gat bhav*, there are many beautiful *thumris* based on Krishna's *Panghat Leela* i e, Krishna's dalliance with Radha and the Gopis when they are on their way to fetch water To quote one of the famous thumris of Maharaj Bindadin, who adds a touching note

> *Why in vain do we beseech Him not to waylay us Even otherwise He lures us and ensnares us in his heart just by the call of his flute*

The Divine Love

As the divine Lover, Krishna plays a predominant role in a Kathaka's rendering of *Bhav* or *Abhinaya* The purport of the *thumris* rendered is almost a reiteration of the observations of a scholar on the Krishna myths who says

> It is the moods feeling and emotions of a great love-affairs which are the essence of the story, and this in turn is to serve as a sublime allegory expressing and affirming the love of God for the soul

The incidents chosen for interpretation by Kathak composers are also in keeping with

the *Rasika Priya* of the celebrated poet Keshav Das, wherein Krishna's love for the Gopis and their reaction to his dalliance is phased out according to the scheme of the *Nayika bhed* Each of the *thumris* echoes the response of a Gopi's heart in her relationship with Krishna In one of Maharaj Bindadin's *thumris* we hear the soulful cry of a Gopi

My eyes are glued to his path
Will He come at all?
Binda adds 'Wait for Him
Even if you spend a life time
Waiting

The waiting signifies a metaphysical thought —wherein the soul awaits the attainment of bliss in union with God

To quote another *thumri* of Maharaj Bindadin where a *Virahini* says

It seems ages since I saw Him
My eyes are blank without the sight of Shyam
Shyam my love, my life
Will someone help convey the message of my anxious heart?

Yet there are *thumris* which portray the jealousy of Radha or the Gopis when they find Krishna betraying their love In the delineation of these incidents we find a striking resemblance to the *ashtapadis* of *Geeta Govinda* of Jayadeva

For instance, in one of the *thumris* the angry Radha spurns Krishna saying

Why have you come now my love
You may return to where you were the night before
Do not explain
Your eyes tell a thousand tales

It is almost an echo of 'Yahi Madhava Yahi Keshava', where Radha reproaches Krishna saying "Away Madhava Away Keshava Desist from uttering those deceitful words "

An observation of the scheme of the *Abhinaya* of Kathak emphasises the fact that it is based on the philosophic thought content that "Krishna is deemed to know love from every angle and thus to sanctify all modes of passionate behaviour He is love itself "

The Phag Leela

I may and here that it is the identification of *Supreme Love* with Krishna in eyes of the devotees which has made Holi the festival of love and colour, play a significant role in the life of Krishna His *Phag Leela* (incidents connected with Holi) has a special appeal to the *Kathakas* In the fascinating *thumris* as well as in the series of *Gat bhav* Krishna is portrayed in the various phases of the festival His arrival is awaited by the people of Braj especially the Gopis who want to take revenge on him for his year long mischief, he arrives and outwits them in the riotous exchange of colour, yet there are Gopis who overpower him and dress him in Girl's attire and mock at 'Him' And then there is Radha who pines for Him abstaining from the revelry saying

How can I play Holi
When my beloved is away

The enactment and recreation of Holi in Vraj also brings to mind an observation of another scholar who remarked that "the

Holi of Krishna is no mere doctrine of Love, rather it is the script for a drama that has to be acted out by each devotee passionately, joyfully "

Krishna's role as the bestower of eternal salvation too has a vital significance in the hearts of the Kathak dancers who convey their thoughts with the *bhajans* (devotional songs) of Surdas, Mira and other saint-poets

The Divine Dancer

Above all these interpretations is that of Krishna as the Divine Dancer It is the original conception which caused Kathak to be created Though there are a countless number of compositions on this theme, the most popular *pada* is that of Maharaj Bindadin in which he attributes the salient features of Kathak to the culmination of Krishna's varied moods in his dance with the Gopis

Niratata Dhang
Bahe pavan mand sugandha shitala
Bindavana ki kunja galina me

Radhe gopi umanga Niratata Dhang

Fanned by the balmy breeze of Brindaban Krishna dances with the Gopies showing the various gaits

In his sport with the Gopis

He reveals the gat which changes with bhav

His feet maintain the rhythm in unison with expression

He whirls in beautiful chakkars

While his graceful bends are offset

By scintillating foot work

O Krishna the Divine Dancer

My only prayer is that I am convey your image in dance

Till I breathe my last

This has great affinity with the *pada* of Surdas who wrote centuries ago

Krishna is dancing in a medley of moods and poses

His crown sways his eye brows move
Displaying the arts of a clever Dancer
Now he dances after the gait of ladies and now in a manner of his own

The poet s lord is the jewel of the passionate

And builds his dance in the depths of ecstasy

To Surdas dancing is an imagery used to indicate the perfection and attraction of the great saviour To Binda also Krishna is the perfect Dancer whose image he wishes to recreate

There is a difference of centuries between Binda and Surdas yet the theme is same, because spirit is one that of belief in Krishna as the Paramatma who lures the soul to eternal bliss with his dance

KRISHNA : THE HERO OF ODISI

K. C. Patnaik

कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयं,

क्लिं कृष्णाय गोविन्दाय गोपिजनवल्लभाय स्वाहा ।

O God ! Obeisances to Krishna who is no other than Govinda the Lord of the Dwellers of the Gopa land

Above is the Shastric Mantra or the tradition accepted key word by which prayer is offered to Lord Jagannath who has also lent his name to the land of his dwelling—Jagannath Dham

Oriyas as a nation are devotees of the Jagannath religion The *Skanda Purana* opines that the Lord Vishnu—one of the trinity of the Hindu faith—is none else but the God named Nilamadhava the God of the Savaras The self same Vishnu is again re incarnated as Krishna who has been installed as the Lord Jagannath in the Sri Mandir *i.e.*, the Jagannath Temple at Puri

The three Gods Srikrishna his elder brother Balaram and their sister Subhadra are worshipped at the Jagannath Temple

That this temple dates back to the eighth century A.D., has been historically proved So for about a millenium or more Shri krishna is the beloved deity of the Oriya nation and Jagannath and Krishna are synonimous

The devotees of Lord Jagannath chant the following hymn when they go to have his *darshan* i e aesthetic revelation

सुनास सुचपालच सुललाट सुलक्षणम् ।
त्रैलोक्यानन्दजनक कृष्णस्य मुखपकजम ॥

Roman nosed with a broad forehead bearing all the godly traits the face of Krishna is as beautiful as the lotus and his vision gladdens the hearts of the three worlds

The above *sloka* is from the *Bramha vaivarta Purana* Therefore Jagannath is Vishnu who again is none else but Bhagavan (God) himself the Lord of the Universe

Vishnu Purana states

कृष्ण कृष्ण जगन्नाथ जानित्वां पुरुषोत्तम ।

Krishna is but Jagannath, let all remember that he is the Supreme Being *i e* the incarnation of God

None Other than God Himself

. दशाकृति कृते कृष्णाय तुभ्य नम ।

You having taken the ten forms or incarnations of God Himself, O, Krishna! I bow to thee

The above are the exact words with which the Odisi, as also Mahakavi Jayadeva prayed to his deity at the temple of Jagannath at Puri in the twelfth century A.D The inspired poet, creator of the lyrical dance drama *Gita Govinda* used to pray to Sri Jagannath, the Lord of the Universe, everyday, singing his own classical creation In *Gita Govinda* as is well known to all Indians, the subject matter is the heavenly love (*Aprakrita prema*) of Sri Radha and Sri Krishna Shrimati Padmavati, the saintly wife of poet Jayadeva, used to accompany the hymn of the poet singer with inspired dance offerings in Odisi syle This convention is kept up even to this day when the Maharis (*Devdasis*) dance before Lord Jagannath's shrine to the accompaniment of the same song from the poet Jayadeva's immortal classic—*Gita Govinda* This ritualistic singing of *Gita Govinda* at the Sri Mandir of Puri was first introduced by Maharaja Narasingha Dev II *in the thirteenth century* A.D The accompaniment of Mahari dancing also was his innovation

After Jayadeva's inspired devotional offerings the whole Oriya nation followed in his footsteps Thus has been created the centuries old Odisi art tradition, when every evening in every Vishnu temple of this land Jayadeva's famous *Dasavatar* song is sung as the first hymn to the deity

Jayadeva has not presented Shrikrishna as the incarnation of God only, but he portrayed him as the prime source of all Divine incarnations Every simple Oriya householder has also accepted this interpretation of the inspired saint and poet

Krishna in the Rural Prayer Hut

Every hamlet of the far-flung countryside in Orissa proudly exhibits a tiny hutment as the abode for the holy scripture of the Hindu faith—its *Bhagavata* There, after the day's back breaking toil, the village folk, young and old, congregate to hear their favourite choral recitations As most of them cannot read, they form hut a regiment of audience, to hear a reciter or a singer, who entertains them with the holy scriptures

These hutments for the scriptures, are however not strictly holy prayer houses They are very very informal All aspects of the life of the rural congregation are to be seen there But on a tiny pedestal is prominently displayed a few scores of palm leaf *pothis* their treasure house of scriptural heritage This tiny treasure trove is decorated with flowers and sandalwood paste and every other form of Hindu rituals

Not only do the villagers hear the chanting of the *Bhagavata* or other puranic scriptures, they also take part in the choral *singing of the Kirtans, where again Radha* and Krishna are the hero and the heroine The all popular *Dasavatar* song of *Gita Govinda* has permeated to this rural setting too

It is quite interesting to note that the reason as to why these huts are called *Bhagavata Tungis* is that it is the abode of the immortal Oriya poet Jagannath Das's devotional opus—the *Bhagabat*

In *Bhagabat* Jagannath Das has popularised the cult of Krishna worship in simple rhyming metres Here in extremely simple and popular form this *Bhagbat* preaches

एणे ये भजे कृष्णपाद ।

से तरे ए घोर प्रमाद ॥

He who prays at the feet of Shri Krishna,

Surely can reach the heavenly shores, crossing this earthly mire

Jagannath Das has depicted the *Sarda Rasa* of Krishna in the most popular tenth chapter of his book, also called *Gopa Leela*

गोविन्द विचारन्ति मने ।

आज रमिबा वृन्दावने ॥

षोल सहस्र गोपनारी ।

मोते वरिले तप करि ॥

Lord Govinda thinks to himself
I will dally in Brindavan this day
Sixteen thousand damsels of the Gopa land

Have offered their heart and soul to me

Krishna and the Oriya Child

The Indian country side is as yet hardly sophisticated or science oriented The rural child too, has no other way, but to digest the iron rule of the village *Abadhan* i.e., the primary teacher This is no metaphore, even to this day He however is tradition oriented to drench his class with a liberal dose of Krishna cult right from the beginning

The Oriya child has to first write, even before he is taught to read This too is done, as in every other stage of his life with traditional rituals of hoary heritage When the child is aged exactly four years, four months and four days he is ceremonially initiated into learning the use of the chalk This ceremony is known as *Vidyarambha*.

The curriculum of the rural primary school includes quite a few interesting items of the Krishna cult.

The consonants have been depicted by a beautiful free rhyme

'क' 'क' कालिन्दी-तीरे ।

'ख' 'ख' खटन्ति घारे ॥

'ग' 'ग' गज उद्धार ।

'घ' 'घ' घन सुन्दर ॥

Ka, ka—At the shore of the river Kalandi,

Kha, kha—Tied up lovingly

Gha, gha—As beautiful as the dark clouds, etc.,

Thus right from the first steps of lisping of letters the Oriya child grows up in an atmosphere of all prevading Krishna lore

When he is no longer a child but has grown into a toddler, then too his text books remind him of the Krishna story

कमल लोचन श्रीहरी ।

करेण शंख-चक्रधारी ॥

खग आसने खगपति ।

खटन्ति लक्ष्मी सरस्वती ॥

गरुड आसन मुरारी ।

गोपरे रखिल वा घुरा ।

The lotus-eyed God almighty
Wields the conch and the circlet

The Lord of the universe sits on a bird
While of Saraswati and Lakshmi consort him.

The great God Muran used to herd the cows in the Gopa-land

Then step by step the Oriya child learns to sing the *Koili* songs In these songs the poet addresses the very popular song bird the cuckoo and makes it the vehicle of his imagery :

कोईली लो, केशव ये मथुराकु गला,
काहावो ले, गलापुट वाहुडिनइला लो कोइली।
कोइली लो, खडक्षीर देवि मुं ाहाकु
खाईवार पूत्रगला मथुरा पूरकु लो ोइली।

Yashoda the mother of Krishna sings
Oh my Cuckoo Keshava has gone to Mathura

On whose bidding has my son departed and has not returned—Oh Cuckoo,

Oh Cuckoo to whom shall I present lumps of sugar and milk

My son that ate the home made sweets has gone to Mathura O, my dear Cuckoo etc etc

After the *Koel* songs the next step is the *Gopi Bhasa* songs of Danai Das Here too the hero is Sri Krishna After the Mathura phase the poet writes

कृष्ण कथा भालि गोपी सकल,
गुण सुमरि हुअन्ति विफल।
काहुँ दारुण अक्रूर अइला,
कम आज्ञा बोझी गोपी कहिला।

The maids of the Gopa land
Are pining for Krishna only
They are all unconsoled in their grief
Oh when did the pitiless Akrur arrive
He broadcast the order of the evil Kansa

The words of the poet, pathos packed as they are, directly echo in the soft hearts of the young school children

Next comes the *Rasha* In this traditional song classic, the hero is Krishna, the heroine Radha The subject matter is Shrikrishna Leela of Vrindavan

The Oriya students are taught the national classic the *Bhagabat*, the immortal creation of the saint poet Jagannath Das This book has been dated in the fifteenth century by the historians

To-day, the *Koili* songs and extracts from the *Bhagabat* are included in the courses of studies right from the beginning, when the child s mind is very very receptive That is the secret as to how Krishna is universally adored by one and all in this region

Socio-religious Festivals

Fairs and festivals of this picturesque land have their own distinctive marks Quite unlike the Anglo European ones most of the Odisi festivals, as also those of other areas of this vast sub continent, are linked with one or the other form of religious workshop The world famous Rathajatra and Chandan Jatra of Lord Jagannath and the Holi festivals are all firstly religious and then social Yet their social aspect is perhaps more glamorous than the religious Specially now that man is blindly in love with speed, his ethics is sadly limping behind his social commitments

Is it not interesting to note that the chariots of the three deities of Puri should be named after the Puranic names of the chariots of Sri Krishna's clan, such as, Nandighosh, Tala Dhwaja and Deva Dalan? This is another proof that Jagannath and

Krishna are identically the same Immediately after Ratha Jatra, the whole land of Orissa goes mad in the Jhulan-jatra of Sri Krishna and Radha Even the tiniest hamlet, with its somewhat limp and colourless rural life, is not left out of this all pervading Krishna worship-cum-social festival Both the deity and the worshipper are happy together on the swing

रगे झुलन्ति श्रीहरी, रासे विहरि ।

The Hori or the Dol festival is the spring festival for one and all Not only do people roll in colour powder, coloured water and the rollicking fun frolics of holi songs with the singing of different types of devotional hymns, men and women, young and old, are simply swept off their feet They bid good bye to their dull and dreary life and pass these few days wallowing in the Holi fun as if they were maniacs All the while however Krishna and Radha are never out of sight The deity and the devotee never do part

Krishna-leela 'Jatra'

Krishna-*leela* again is the traditional theme of so many *Jatras* the ageless form of folk-drama Probably one of the oldest classics of this class, the *Basanta Rasha* a faithful Oriya rendering of *Gita Govinda* by Pindik Srichandan, was written in the sixteenth century as a devotional offering Even to-day, it is performed as a part of the religious life of the countryside Similarly, *Sharat-Ras* has also been given the shape of a musical play by the Late Raja Vishwanath Bebarta Pattanayak of the then Indian State of Athgarth There is no end to such efforts and Krishna *leela* even today is the most popular theme of rural dramaturgy The late Govinda Chandra Suradeo and Mohan Goswami, and even this writer himself, have all tried their hands on the same theme during the last three or four decades Octogenarians of to-day, who had the good fortune of witnessing these performances, often nostalgically remember these *Rasas* produced as folk plays *i.e Jatras*

I myself have produced about a dozen *Jatra* plays which have all drawn, thousands of village folk as if they were hypnotized The subject matter of all these *Jatras* is Krishna *leela* as even their names clearly indicate Thus, *Manini Kishori Champu Geeta Govinda Sudama Bansari-Bilas, Banabihar Rasa*, which are the names of some of my *Rasas*, have all provided an endless opportunity of serving my muse as also the masses of my mother land

The sheer weight of numbers is forcing me to merely repeat that many other play writers such as late Govinda Surdeo, Baishnab Pani, Mohan Goswami and some others from Chikiti and Parlakhemdi areas of Ganjam District have all successfully produced Krishna *leela* Jatras

The Lord of Odisi Poetry

Krishna has been the universally accepted hero of all Oriya poets from the early days of Oriya literature *i e* the twelfth century A D The number and quantity of classical Oriya poetry being what it is, it is hardly possible for me to make a proper and detailed survey of it within the present limitation I shall try to present a mere sketch of a few prominent ones

Sarala Mahabharata

The popular Oriya *Mahabharata* has a prefix added to it by long usage This

adjective is the name of the poet, its creator He is also lovingly called Sudra Muni, both by the unlettered country swain and the most erudite scholar In this *Mahabharata*, Srikrishna and Lord Jagannath have been painted as being the same person In his classic, Krishna has been accepted as the universal friend, philosopher and guide of the whole Oriya nation

Bhagabat and Rasa Kallol

Rasa Kallol as its name signifies is a treatise on *Bhava* and *Rasa* by the poet devotee Dinakrishna Das of the sixteenth century Like all other classics of the age, in *Rasa Kallol* too the hero is none other than Krishna

कृष्ण कथा श्रवणरे शुणिब,
कृष्ण बोलि जगतकु भणिब ।
कृष्ण गीत शरधारे गाइब ।
कृष्ण दासकु प्रसन्न होइब ।
कृष्ण कथारे याहमा नाहि,
काले सथातकु देखित से हि ।

Hear only of Krishna think of the universe as Krishna sing out of love of Krishna embrace those who are devotees of Krishna he who dislikes Krishna lore shall surely perish

There is no end to the list of these ancient classics *Mathura Mangal* by Bhakta Charan Das *Rahasya Manjari* by Debadurlav Das, *Bidagdha Chintamani* by Abhimanyu Smanta Singhar, *Prabandha Purna Chandra* and *Rukmini Bilas* by Jadumani Mahapatra are the names of only a selected few *chanda-classics* In every one of these books Krishna is the primary hero

Even a woman poet of that distant past (sixteenth century) named Brundabati Dasi still lives in the minds of the poetry loving illiterate rural folk Brundabati has followed the same metre and rhyme as that of the famous Oriya *Bhagabat* of Jagannath Das

नन्दर राणी भाग्यवती,
पुत्र पाईले राधापती ।
स्तन्य पिआन्ति कोलेधरि,
सामान्य भाग्य कि तारकि ।
* * * *
से गोपीमानक समाने,
रहन्ति मोर सन्निधाने

The queen of Nand is lucky, she got as her son the Lord of Radha, she fondles him and feeds him at her breast she is blessed with the best of luck He is accompanied by Gopis and stays with me too

Krishna the Life & Soul of Odisi Songs

The famous composers poets of Odisi songs belonging to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have Krishna and Krishna only as the theme of all their musical creations There is to be seen that all the famous poets of this period—Banamali, Kavi Samrat Upendra Bhanja Jadumani, Kavisurya Baladev, Gopal Krushna etc have dealt with no other theme than the Krishna lore in their songs

The *Champu* songs of Kavisurya Baladev differ in some points from the classical Sanskrit *Champus* These differences are however fundamentally compositional and not thematic

The ever green songs of Kavi Samrat Upendra Bhanja are called Chanda, Choupadi, Chautisa, etc

Krishna and Odisi Dance

Tribhanga Thani i e, the *Natabar bhangi* is the most distinctive pose of Odisi dance After the first few steps, known as the *Rangaprabesh*, the Odisi dancer strikes a *Tribhanga Thani*, the one that is universally known as, the flute playing Krishna Along with the *Natabar Bhangi*, it is a tradition-bound that the *anga vikshepa* must be *lalita* so this dance is *lasya-pradhan*

Apart from the *Angika* Odisi dance must be accompanied by *Vachika* too In this *Vachika* part the songs are about Radha-Krishna *leela* which is demonstrated by traditional *Abhinaya* and *hasta mudra* So in Odisi dance, both the deity and devotee combine to form an unity The man and the God are wholly merged together The God Krishna is presented in a most human form

Folk Songs

In a land which is so very Krishna mad, it is no wonder that even in folk songs Krishna must be the hero of heroes Whatever be the local name of these songs, whether they are *Rasarkel*, *Sargeet Dalkhai Dal bhanga Chaiti Ghoda, Danda Nacha* and endless other local forms the subject matter is always Krishna *leela* In bold and distinctive folk music Krishna has been entertaining the rural masses for centuries

Krishna Theme in Folk Art

The unlettered Oriya villager is not a mute worshipper of Krishna as it has come to him through poets and playwrights He himself is an artist of the highest order, using innumerable mediums, such as palm-leaf *pothis, patas*, silk textile weaving, mud-wall murals and so on All these art forms have been practised through the ages When we look into these folk art productions we are struck by the predominance of the Krishna theme among all these different art forms There too Krishna is the hero

Today, the whole world is awe struck by the unending powers of the scientist and the technocrat We are but mute onlookers of an age of materialism, when at times one presumes that the God almighty too has been thrown out But as we look to the rural countryside of Orissa we are forced to admit that the centuries old devotion to Krishna worship is still the foremost thought in the mind of the Odisi art lover

Sculpture

Sculpture in Orissa has been linked to the temples and has remained so even to this day So any visitor to her famous temples will find various phases and imageries of Krishna lore, very prominently displayed on the walls.

In the temple of the Sun God at Konarak the Natya Mandap contains a whole series of fine sculptures, all depicting the Krishna lore Similar sculptures are found in practically every famous temple such as Srimandir (Jagnath, Puri) Lingaraj (Bubaneswar) etc

In the countryside too, where the small and less known temples in their hundreds, lie scattered throughout the length and breadth of Orissa beautiful scenes of Krishna lore are to be seen in nearly every one of them

RASA TRADITION IN MANIPURI

E. Nilakanta Singh

Composite Indian Culture

Indian culture represents a remarkable synthesis of various Aryan and non Aryan elements Strange, perhaps, is the word for this harmonious blending The Vedic Aryans who were basically a nomadic and pastoral community, were not, I suppose great lovers of music or of what is known as *Sangeeta* even though we have the evidence of the ancient *rishis* singing *Sama gana* The dancing figurine discovered as a part of Mohenjodaro culture and civilisation represents almost a symbol—a symbol of non Aryan fascination for fine arts which might have created an impact on the minds of the contemplative Aryan *rishis* The *Taitiriya Upanishad* speaks of *Rasa* as the Brahman—*raso-vei sah* But this concept of *Rasa* finds supreme expression only in the *Natya Sastra* of sage Bharata recorded possibly in the 1st century A.D This fifth *Veda*, as it was called, contained all the elements from the four *Vedas* and was primarily meant for all classes of people including the women and the *sudras* The close association of this *Natya Sastra* with Lord Shiva and his associates like Tandu speaks about the predominantly non Aryan tradition as Shiva was positively a non-Aryan god Even the sage Bharata had to struggle so hard for it *Abhinaya Darpana* of sage Nandikesvara, which is supposed to be an authority on

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Rasa and *Sangeet* (with Bharata, on *Rupakas* after Rajsekhara), is no exception to this But in the peculiarly synthetic experience of the Indians, all roads lead to the Brahman Hence we have the traditional *Rasa brahmavada nada brahmavada* and *rupabrahmavada* of the Indian aestheticians, and even *tala brahmavada* To the devout Vaishnava drummers of Manipur, *tala* represents the Lord the *Shri Guru* Because Time has no beginning and no end (*anadi ananta kala*) and *tala* represents only a captured fragment of it (*khanda kala*) The Indian believe of course, that all these are fragments of the lord (*mamaeva amsha*) after the *Gita* There is unity in diversity *Vahusyamaham Ekopi*, after the *Shrutis*

The Musical Tradition

The Sangeeta tradition of India is distinctively a *puranic* concept and represents a synthesis of tantric and brahmanic cults It gives an accent on *Nada* as Brahman—*Nadabrahmavada* The *Vishnu Purana* says that all songs are a part of Him, who wears a form of sound And the same *purana* speaks of *Kirtana* as sung aloud on matters relating to the name *leela* and attributes of the lord This is the *samkirtana* tradition of India which finds eloquent expression in the Bengal School of Vaishnavism in the 15th century A D when Shri Krishna Chaitanya and his followers became great lovers of music and introduced the name of *Hari nama Kirtana* with all the devotees singing and dancing in ecstasy This tradition finds its source in *Naradasamhita* which beautifully sums up in the oft-quoted lines "I do not dwell in heaven nor in the heart of *yogis* There only I abide. O Narada where my lover sings"

Strictly speaking, there is nothing like a *Rasa* tradition in Manipuri *sangeet* There is only the great impact of the Bengal School of Vaishnavism with its inevitable *samkirtana* on the sensitive minds of the artistic Manipuris This *samkirtana* was practically reborn, so to say, with regional complexion and depth of feelings and became a major cultural event which attained maturity in the 18th century A D during the reign of Rajarshi Bhagyachandra (1764 to 1789 A D) To the devout Manipuri Vaishnavas *samkirtana* is a great *yajna—mahayajna* The *padavali* or *leela kirtana* of Bengal specially that of Thakur Narottamadas in Bengal in the 16th century assumed the form of *Nata Kirtana* in Manipur Because there is *abhinaya* for the *Kirtana*—both *Tandava* and *lasya* And according to *Govinda Sangeet Leela Vilas* the authorship of which is attributed to Rajarshi Bhagyachandra whoever, male or female sings the glories of the lord with the accompanying *abhinaya* is called *Nata Kirtana* This *Natakirtana* (known popularly as *Nata Pala*) is a *must* for all the various religious ceremonies and festivals of Manipuri life—Hindu ceremonies like *Kanavedha Upanayana* and *Shraddha* ceremonies etc To watch this *Kirtana* with all its rituals and exquisite music and dances presented strictly after the 8 divisions of time (*Asta kala*) during a day of Lord Krishna's *leela* with Radha and the *Sakhis* is a fascinating experience Apart from the songs set to particular *ragas* and *raginis* presented with abhinaya and cymbals on the hand the Manipuri *Mridanga* (*Pung*) has its own *ragas* and *sancharas*

which are almost endless in number and which are presented within the pattern of its characteristic style of prayer and worship And when the Bhaktas relish the *rasa* (*Rasasvadana*) of the entire *Kirtana*, they become deeply moved and start weeping and crying and even rush to the performers and lie prostrate before them as a sign of deep appreciation

Manipuri Rasaleelas,

The well known Manipuri *Rasaleelas* (pronounced as *Raasleelas*) represent only a fragment of this vast *Samkirtana* tradition The entire pattern of the movements and the exquisite costumes were conceived by Rajarshi Bhagyachandra in his dreams when Lord Krishna came to him and asked him to find out the tree in a particular forest out of which His image would be carved This story reflects the extreme piety of the Manipuri Vaishnavas who considered themselves blessed enough to watch the real performance of the eternal *Rasaleela* at Vrindavan As a form of *Natya* and as distinguished from *Rupaka* this *Rasa* or *Rasak* is strictly after the tradition of Gargacharya the teacher of Lord Krishna and here songs and dances predominate *Rasa Prakash* of Gargacharya speaks of *Rasaka* being subdivided into six *viz* *Maha Vasanta* (*Manju*) *Nitya Nirvesh* (*Kunj*) *Gopa* and *Tala* all of which are now performed in Manipur on appropriate occasions All these *leelas* cover almost the entire gamut of the life of Shri Krishna starting from the childhood pranks and exploits (*Gopa Rasa*) His play and apparent separation from the *gopis* (*Tala Rasa*) and ending with His eternal play with them at Vrindavan on fullmoon nights either at Autumn after the *Shrimad Bhagavatam* (*Maha Rasa*) at Ashvin *Purnima* (*Kunja Rasa*) at Vasanta *Purnima* (*Vasanta Rasa*) or everyday (*Nitya Rasa*) The classification of *Natya* into *Rupaka* and *Rasaka* is distinctively a Vaishnavic concept and it has been the efforts of the various gurus of Manipuri songs and dances to compose a series of *leelas* in the form of dance drama where dialogue assumes a secondary importance This may be considered as an extension and illumination of the *Samkirtana* tradition But all these *leelas* relate to a single theme Lord Krishna and His play with the *gopas* and *gopis* at Vrindavan strictly after the *Bhagavata* tradition

Thus we find that Manipuri tradition of *Samkirtana* does not mark much of a departure from the Vaishnavite tradition of Bengal school It only struck deep roots in the artistic soul of the people and found expression in various *Rasaleelas* and *Nata Kirtan* performances which became poetry to be seen (*Drishya Kavya*) Much of the dance and music heritage of ancient Manipuri culture was integrated with the classical tradition of India in which the various *slokas* from the *Bhagavata Purana* and from Vaishnava *Padavalis* were profusely used and sung in various *ragas* and *raginis* which were composed during the height of Sanskrit learning

But the only way to understand and appreciate this Vaishnava tradition is to have a clear knowledge of Vaishnava *Bhakti rasa* without which much of the *Krishna leela* as conceived by the *Bhaktas* shall remain unintelligible Some of the orthodox rhetoricians like Jagannath refuse to consider *Bhakti* as a *rasa* and are prepared to give it the status of *Bhava* But to

the Vaishnava. *Bhakti* is the *Rasa* perhaps the only *Rasa* relating only to the love of Krishna (*Krishnarati*) around which all the other *rasas* move and have their being *Bhakti* is 'a psychological entity, a literary erotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment which is intensely personal and is yet impersonalised into a mental condition of disinterested joy' There is also the testimony of the Bhagavata itself which speaks of *Bhakti* as the *Bhagavad rasa* and the *Bhakta* as the *Rasika* Bhagavat itself is *Rasa* after the *sruits* This conception of *Bhakti* finds elaborate treatment in the two works of Rupa Goswami viz., *Bhakti rasamrita Sindhu* and *Ujjvala Nilamani* which was further supplemented by six *sandarbhas* of Jiva Goswami The Vaishnavas recognise only 5 categories of *Bhaktirasa* viz *Santa Dasya Sakhya Vatsalya* and *Madhurya* and the last one which exists only in the relation of Krishna with the *gopis* and for which even the *Vedas* craved, after *Padma Purana* is called Bhakti rasa raj

We have on the authority of Jiva Goswami that the *gopis* are nothing but the aspects of the Bhagavat Krishna s highest energy of bliss (*Hladini Shakti*) and the Lord simply enjoys His *leela* which is inscrutable The *gopis* are Krishna s own and yet they appear as belonging to others in the *prakata leela* Of all the *gopis* Radha is the greatest beloved of Krishna and Chandravali assumes the role of a rival heroine in the *Krishnaleela* But the Bengal School goes a step further The well-known biographer of Chaitanya Krishnadas Kaviraj (1615 A D) equates Chaitanya with Bhagavan and introduced Chaitanya worship as a cult Krishna in His *Chaitanya leela* combines the roles of Krishna and Radha with a view to enjoying the bliss both as a subject and on object Hence Chaitanya's adoption of the complexion and feelings of Radha as well as those of Krishna This view holds a particular fascination for the Manipuri Vaishnavas and every Samkirtana performance should begin with a dedication to lord Chaitanya or Gouranga which is known as Gourchandrika or Gourachandra This identification of a prophet or a guru with the lord himself almost on a mystic level is a peculiarly Indian phenomenon I suppose and holds true for the devotees at least

It is now evident that the *Vrindavan leela* of Shri Krishna emphasises the *madhurya* aspect of the lord Here Krishna becomes a friend a son or a lover and becomes very near and sweet to the devotees The epic figure of Vasudeva Krishna with his wisdom and statesman like qualities is transformed almost beyond recognition The *puranic life of Krishna* as recorded in the *Bhagavatam* has been brought to the foreground As Dr S K De puts it 'The ancient epic spirit of godly wisdom and manly devotion is replaced by a new spirit of mystical and theological fancy of tender rapture over divine babyhood and of sensuous and erotic passion of ecstasy over the loveliness of divine adolescence and its god is moulded accordingly

Leelas—A Religious History

It is with difference that I apply a sort of analytic and intellectual approach to

this religious phenomenon All these interpretations move, perhaps, on the periphery of understanding which, on the part of the devotee, should be an integral experience Dean Inge writes somewhere that "myth is the poetry of religion, and poetry not science, is the natural language of religion" What we generally consider as *Vrindavan leela* myth or allegory is not at all a mere symbol or divine allegory to the devout Vaishnavas The entire *leela* is a fact of religious history and the puranic world to them is manifestly a matter of religious history To miss this spirit is perhaps, to misunderstand the entire religion And there are certain points at which the method of the analyst ought to be replaced as Arthur Waley wrote in a different context, by those of a poet The devout Manipuri Vaishnavas still believe all these aspects of *Vrindavan leela* and they weep and cry at the various *Rasaleelas* and *Sam-Kirtanas* of Manipur And it needs, perhaps, a lot of *samskara* to appreciate and understand properly the fundamentals of Bengal School of Vaishnavism The scholarly interpretations and analytic approach do not matter so much One must have the eyes to see and the ears to listen in such matters pertaining to spiritual experience This is the knowledge which most of us have lost in the knowing of it What is myth to us is a reality to the Vaishnava and this makes a great difference

KRISHNA THEME IN MUSIC AND DANCE

Sharada

Sri Krishna in Ancient Scriptures

Sri Krishna is the Supreme Lord, who is the indweller of our hearts who is Existence Absolute, Knowledge Absolute, Bliss Absolute, *who is the soul of the universe,* who bestows immortality on His devotees, who is the source of everything and who took a human form to please the gods and devotees, to destroy wickedness and establish righteousness He is Parabrahman or the Supreme Self, from whom is born this universe, by whom it is upheld, and in whom alone it is dissolved He is a *Purnavatara* (*i e* He is Brahman in His fullness, power and benediction, purity and perfection)

The sources of information for the life and teachings of Krishna are (1) the *Mahabharata* (2) the *Harivamsa* (3) the *Vishnu Purana* (4) the *Bhagavata Purana* and (5) the Post-*Bhagavata* Literature

The earliest mention of Krishna, the son of Devaki is contained in the *Chhandogya Upanishad* where he is described as the pupil of Ghora Angirasa, from whom he is said to have learnt that the real sacrifice is the dedicated life of man himself, a lesson strikingly similar to that taught in the *Bhagavad Gita* The next mention of Krishna is by Panini who refers to Vasudeva and Arjuna as objects of worship But they are only rare mentions

nature as Vasudeva and his *souseelya* and *soulabya* qualities He is *Bhuvana Sundara* (cosmic beauty) and *Manmatha Manmatha* (enchanter of souls) The Absolute has a soul hunger and the devotees, such as *Gopis* have God-hunger When the two are united, there is eternal bliss Symbolically, the soul is represented as a woman and the Infinite as a man This is called *Nayaka-Nayika Bhava*

Rasa Leela in *Krishnakatha* is the manifestation of divine love or purified emotion which takes the devotee to the magnanimous height of holy communion with the Lord It contains *madhurya rasa* the crowning element of *Bhakti*, which leads to absolute self surrender and absorption in the Lord Krishna, as a boy of ten years has shown that through *madhurya rasa* one can effect total self surrender or *atma-nivedana* and attain *sayujya* (absorption in the Lord) In short, *Rasa Leela* was a sport (*Krida*) meant to build up faith deepen the spiritual yearning and improve the minds of the *Gopis* and humanity in general *Rasa Leela* in the higher sense is the divine *leela* of love in the heart of every *jiva* (soul)

Krishna Theme in Music and Dance

Dance is Yoga The first glimpses of the dance are given to us by Siva Himself, the yogi of yogis He demonstrates that the highest yoga is the complete oneness of soul and body and that this oneness can be attained through dance Krishna the *Paramatma* dances in Vrindavan and the *Gopis* dance around him in the *rasa* In the rhythm of the dance the *Paramatma* draws to himself the *jivas* that have separated from him and each *Gopi* discovers Sri Krishna for herself

In India, where music has played an important part in the day-to-day life of the people, folk music is inextricably woven with the life of the village folk The story of Sri Krishna generally forms material of their songs They use music for almost every function Whether it is a religious ceremony or a social function or an agricultural pursuit, they do not hesitate to use music and dance on Krishna to lighten their hearts and make their burden less heavy

In the Tamil classic of *Silapadikaram* written by Ilankovadigal about 2000 years ago there is a description of a group dance Krishna-*Gunas* and *Leelas* form the subject matter of this dance The people of those days derived *ananda* from such dances, besides becoming spiritual minded learning the ancient lore

The entire work of *Gita Govindam* was composed for the dance and it has become a favourite with the dancers Tradition has it that Jayadeva who was also a *Natya charya* taught the *Ashtapadi* to his wife Padmavathi who was an accomplished dancer *Krishna Natakam* written by one of the zamorins of Malabar which now serves as the basis of *Krishnattam* dance of Guruvayur has *Krishnakatha* for its theme

Chaitanya considered it his mission in life to popularise the cult of Radha Krishna both by precept and practice Krishna *Prema is rasa par excellance* Krishna is bliss absolute and Chaitanya relishes it by becoming Radha All his songs and works teem with stories about Radha and Krishna and Krishna *Bhakti*

Mira was another Krishna *Bhakta* She set her heart on marrying Krishna She spent her life in ecstatic singing and dancing before an image of Krishna Infinite love emanated from the image of the divine and surrounded Mira Her songs have become very popular and have considerably influenced the Krishna tradition and literature especially in the North

The *padas* of Kshetragna are noted for Krishna *Prema* The significance of *Rasa* is fully brought out here through *Nayaka Nayika Bhava* and *Dutika Bhava* The *Krishna Leela Tharangani* by Narayana Thieertha deal with Krishna story in twelve *tharangas* or waves The treatment of *leelas* Krishna's marriage with Rukmini and eight others and other topics is very appealing The songs are very popular, in *bhajanas* dances etc

Kuchipudi dance is essentially based on *Krishna Katha* All the important *padas* are about Krishna *Bhama Kalapam* clearly shows the importance and the popularity of the story of Krishna In Manipuri and Kathak dances the stories about Krishna play a very prominent part

In Tamil Nad Melattur Venkatarama Sastriar has composed dance dramas entitled *Usha Parinayam Kamsa Vadham* etc wherein the *leelas* and other episodes of Krishna have been dealt with by him admirably During the recent times the four famous brothers of Ponniah, Chinniah, Vadivelu and Sivanandam have rendered *banis* into *Bharata Natyam*. For *varnas padas javalis* etc the stories about Krishna have been used by them so as to make them interesting and entertaining

Krishna *Prema* has also played a very important part in the lives of the Alvar saints of India As Leelasuka has sung in ecstacy the beautiful poems of *Krishna Karnamrita* Periyalvar *alias* Visnu Chitta the father of Andal has sung *Bhagavatha Dasamaskhanda* in Tamil in his *Periya Thirumozhi* Nammalvar being excessively *Krishnanad* poured out in inimitable poetry his love longing for the Divine *Nayaka* He poured out his love in the moods of union and separation Andal, the mystic who considers herself Krishna's bride vowed that she would wed Him alone Drawn by His Beauty, she aspired and pined for Him The soul hunger of Krishna exceeded the God hunger of Andal and at last the two became one in eternal wedlock Andal is popularly called the Mira of the South and her poems are known for Krishna *Prema* and are very popular

The Krishna story has played a very important part not only in the realms of poetry philosophy and religion but also in those of dance and music and has few parallels

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KRISHNA IN FOLK SONGS AND DANCES

Mohan Upreti

It was during the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries A.D that Krishna entered the folklore of India, creating an abiding place for himself in the hearts and minds of the people It was a re-created Krishna, who found innumerable expressions in the devotional utterances of the people It was the new creative energy symbolising hope and faith, love and life that was represented and reflected in this new image It was not the Krishna of the *Upanishads* or the *Mahabharata* but Krishna the child prodigy, Krishna the flute player, Krishna the dancer, Krishna the cowherd or Krishna the lover who stirred the folk imagination

Spread of the Bhakti Movement

For creating this popular image, the Bhakti movement was largely responsible Devotion to God without any caste or class distinctions was its banner which was carried forward to every nook and corner of the country by a host of impassioned and devoted saints, many of whom were poets singers, dancers and actors as well They roamed about preaching their gospel in the language of the common people This greatly contributed towards the growth of regional languages, poetry and music Through mass prayers, dances and community singing the personality of the saints inspired the creative energy of the

people This movement attained varying degrees of intensity and sweep in different parts of the country. It appeared in a variety of forms also Chaitanya Maha-Prabhu and Nityanand Mahaprabhu popularised *Samkirtana*, congregational singing of songs in Bengal Chaitanya declared that all were eligible for worshipping God 'Leaving these temptations and the religious systems based on caste', the true Vaishnava helplessly takes refuse in Krishna *Kirtana* is perhaps the most popular of the old musical entertainments surviving to the present day In the famous Jatra plays of Bengal, the preponderence of songs is largely due to Vaishnava influence E. J. Thompson remarks "The Vaishnava tradition continues the strongest to this day Just as the softer beauty of Kalidasa's poetry has touched the Bengali imagination far more than the sterner grace of the epics, so the cult of Krishna has made that of Rama sink very much into the background".

Shankar Dev was another great Vaishnava saint who was also a remarkable musician, poet and performer The play, 'Rukmini Haran' written by him has a significant place in *Ankia Nat*, a folk theatrical form popular in Assam Another saint, Goswami Ballabhacharya, preached in the northern parts of India He and his disciples enacted the tenth portion of *Bhagavata* to huge audiences in towns and villages They performed mostly in temple court yards These performances later developed into the 'Rasleela' plays of Uttar Pradesh

Jnaneshvar and Nam-Dev in Maharashtra and Narsi Mehta in Gujrat preached the Bhakti cult through songs These songs had a tremendous attraction for the people A number of devotional poets and poetesses like Surdas, Jayadeva, Vidyapati, Chandidasa, Govindadas and Mirabai composed innumerable lyrics all in praise of Krishna Although these songs largely belong to the literary tradition, they deeply influenced the popular imagination and have been well assimilated into the folk tradition

Krishna is not a manifestation of the metaphysical Absolute for the common people He is only a focal point of the collective consciousness, its emotional matrix into which are woven all its yearnings for a fuller and richer life In him the collective re-discovers itself, with him it identifies itself and into him it tries to merge itself He shares all its joys and sorrows, mingling fully and freely with it and ever inspiring it to live a life of eternal beauty and joy He becomes the fountain source of its creative energy which finds expression in various artistic manifestations like music, dance, poetry, painting and drama

Krishna in the Non-secular Folk-lores

This vast artistic heritage which forms part of folklore has been expressing itself through two distinct streams, non secular and secular Krishna reaches the household through the temple, and in the process is transformed from the non secular into the secular This transformation is significant from the point of view of folklore Non secular Krishna is much too inhibited with his devotional halo preserved intact, as for instance in the Ras Leela plays of Uttar Pradesh Although episodes from Krishna's childhood are enacted in these plays the entire conception is devotional

This accounts for the literary component of these plays as also for their rigid conventionality They lack, what one may like to call the folk flavour, which for instance is found in the Phag songs of North India Two typical Phag songs, one each from the Maithili region of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh will illustrate the point :

(1) ब्रज के बसइया कन्हैया गोपाला
रंग भरी मारय पिचकारी
एह पार मोहन लहंगा लुटे सखि
ओई पार लूटथि नारी
मझधार कान्हा जावक लूटथि
रंगभरी मारलय पिचकारी
ब्रज के बसइया कन्हैया गोपाला ।

(2) ये कैसी प्रीत लगाई
श्याम मोहे चोरी लगाई ।
खेलत गेंद गिरी जमुना में
तें मोरी गेंद चुराई—
हाथ डार अगिया बिच देखा
एक गई दाव पाई
श्याम तुम बड़े हरजाई ।। ये कैसी प्रीत ।।

The uninhibited Krishna of the Phag songs becomes subdued and refined in the songs accompanying some of the Ras dances associated with the Bhakti cult

Below are given a few lines of the song which accompanies the Maha Ras dance of Uttar Pradesh This dance is a rhythmic expression of the philosophical idea of cosmic unity of *jeevatma* and *paramatma* the idea which was originally expressed by Ramanuja in his Vishistadvaita Krishna dances upon the banks of Yamuna with the *gopis* He multiplies himself into innumerable forms to dance with each cowgirl

The accompanying lines are

हों हों रचो राम रंग, श्याम सबहीन
सुख देहो रचो
मुरली धुन करि प्रकाश
खग मृग सब रंग उदास
युवतिन तज ग्रह वास
बनहि गवन कीन्हो रचा—

* * *

नाचत रास में लाल बिहारी,
नचवत है ब्रज की ब्रजनारी

* * *

नाचे छबीला ब्रजराज छुम छन नन
ताता थेइया, ताता थेइया चरन चपल आली
सजनी रजनी सरस शरद ऋतु
आज सुभग श्याम संखिन संग आली ।

The same idea is expressed in the Ras dances popular in Gujarat.

आज सखी वृन्दावन मा शामलियो रंग रास रम
सोल कलानो शशि रह्यो शिर पर
गगन मंडल सुर सहित घूमे
एक एक गोपीने बीच बीच माधव
कर ग्रही मंडली माहें घूमे
ताथें ताथें तान मिलावे
राम रागिणी समय समे ।

In Manipur Rasa leela is an integral part of Vaishnava tradition. The whole background is religious and devotional Strictly speaking Manipuri Ras dances are no more within the periphery of folklore but total separation from the folk has not been achieved Six different varieties of Ras dances are performed on six different occasions Maharas Vasant Ras Kunja Ras Nitya Ras, Gop Ras or Goshtha and Ulukhal Ras

Thematically speaking Maharas expresses the mystical element, unity of senses with the spirit, while the other Ras dances have a secular content, childhood pranks of Krishna, his bravery, love of Radha, etc. being the subject matter of their themes

Krishna In Secular Folk-lores

It is actually when we descend further into the main body of the secular variety of folk songs that we come across an emancipated Krishna, emancipated from the fetters of religiocity and mysticism His personality has been completely democratised He is now of the people, for the people In child-birth he is present, in love he is found, in marriage he occurs, in festivals he is met with, in sport and in pranks his presence is felt, as it were, he gets identified with the daily life of the people His personality in its diverse manifestations acquires a symbolic significance in folklore

Below are given a few examples

Krishna the Flute player

कुंजन मे बाज रही मुरलिया प्रेम भरी
सोने की पटिया मे भोजन परोसो
मैं तो खावे मे चौंक पडी, मुरलिया प्रेम भरी।

सोने को लोटा गंगा जल पानी
मैं तो पीवत मे चौंक पडी, मुरलिया प्रेम भरी।

पान पचासी के बीडा लगाए
मैं तो चावत मे चौंक पडी, मुरलिया प्रेम भरी।

चन्दा की चांदनी मे चौपड बिछाए
मैं तो खेलत मे चौंक पडी, मुरलिया प्रेम भरी।

मैं तो सोई थी अपने महल मे
मैं तो सोचत में चौंक पडी, मुरलिया प्रेम भरी।

Krishna as a dancer and his other pranks

गंगा जी मे बाँस गड्यो है रामा
वापें चढ़ गयो कछनी पहन के

भायली मेरी आयो री श्याम नट बन के
गंगा जी की उन रेतिन मे रामा

रास रचावें हँस हँस के
भायली मेरी आयो री श्याम नट बन के

रास रचायो रामा कदम के नीचे
चीर चुरायें हँस हँस के ॥ भायली ॥

(Braj)

Krishna as Radha's lover

छोडो छोडो रे छबीला काना छेडलो
मारो जाय छे साहेलीनो साथ रे
काना छेडलो।

कानो कानो रे कलायेल मोरलो
राणी राधा ढलवती ढले रे
काना छेडलो।

कानो कानो रे काटा लेल केवडो
रापो राधा डोलरियाना फूल रे
काना छेडलो।

काना तमे तो गोरा ने हमे शामला
प्रेम केम चाले घरबार रे
काना छेडलो।

मैं ता नरसैयाना स्वामी शामला
अमने तेडी रमाडया रास रे
काना छेडलो।

(Gujarati)

Songs Sung on Different Occasions

Sang at the time of sowing wheat in Bundelkhand.

'रामा रे'

रामा हो ओ ओ ओ

काना बाजी मुरलिया, भाई रे कहाँ
परी झनकार ।। रामा ।।

गोकुल बाजो मुरलिया, भाई रे मथुरा
परी झनकार ।। रामा ।।

सो इत राधा उझक गई लयें मथनिया
हाथ ।। रामा ।।

जरियो बरियो तोरी मुरलिया भाई रे—
मरियो बजावन हार ।। रामा ।।

Baramasa songs of Awadhi region are generally sung during rainy season.

ताकत रहिऊ मधुवन की डगरिया
कोउ नहीं सूझि परै सजनी
लागो असाढ चहुँ दिसि बरसै
भरि आए ताल नदिय सगली
ठाढे सोच करैं बृज लाला
कुबरी सौतिया सों अब न बनी
क्वारे स्याम हमें छल कीन्हा
प्रीति करी उन कुबजा से
तुम नदलाल जनमके कपटी
इतना कपट किपो हम से ।

Sung on the occasion of child-birth in Kumaon:

तीन लोक के नाथ मथुर हरि जनम लिए ।।

भादो रैन अंधेरी, चन्द्रमा उदय भये
लागो रोहिणी नक्षत्र, कन्हैया अवतार
मोहन अवतार लिए
।। तीन लोक ।।

Sung by the Women of Bundelkhand during the month of Kartik when they go for bathing:

सुन मुरली को टेर, अचक रहें राधा
होत भारे राधा पनियां को निकरी
गकुअन टिसन को बेर
छोडो कन्हैया प्यारे बाँह हमारी
हम घर सास कठोर
कहा करे सास, कहा करे ननदी,
चलो कदम की ओट ।।

Opening lines of some typical holi songs sung in Kumaon:

मेरो री मन मोहन सलना, मधुवन से
कब आवेंगो

* * *

नदी जमुना के तीर कदम चढ़ि कान्हा बजै,
गयो बाँसुरिया

* * *

राधे जमुना अकेली मत जइयो
बाँही रहे चित चोर ।। राधे ।।

* * *

दधि लूटत नन्द को लाल प्यारे मोहनिया

* * *

बसिया ना बजावो बिहारी लला ।
अब साझ भई घर आवो लला ।।

* * *

मा ब्रजराज निगोडा
तक्त मोरी अंगिया का डोरा ।

From Rukmini Mangal Song in Rajasthan

Rukkmani's parting from her parents is described thus :

आवो सखी सहेलिया मिलो भुजा पसार
अबका बिछड़या कद मिला दूर बसागा जाय

मन जागें बावल मिलूं, बाटड़िया जल जाय
अबला विछड़्या पद मिलां दूर द्वारका जाय
पद्म भणे रक्मण कहे, विनती एक हे माय
बगला मे म्हारी ढूलियां थे तो
सम्हालो नी जाय ।

Expressed through song, dance and drama Krishna theme has taken different forms in different regions Songs occurring in the regions which came early under influence of Vaishnavas show a marked contrast to the ones found in other parts where it reached later The former are more or less within the framework of the same theme In the latter, however, interesting variations are found For instance *Ramola* the folk ballad of Kumaon (hill region of Uttar Pradesh) mentions of the *Chir Haran* episode as having taken place on the Manassarovara lake Krishna is described as the brother-in law of Sidua, the hero of the ballad Sidua plays on his flute Fascinated by his music the dancing fairies from Indra's Court descend on earth, and for their own pleasure, carry away his soul to heaven His wife Binjamati, who is Krishna's sister, has some kind of a premonition in a dream She goes out in search of Sidua whom she finds lying dead below a pipal tree In her agony she goes to Dwaraka and narrates her woes to Krishna who promises to help her Krishna through his divine power already knows what has happened He reaches Manasarovara lake with his flute in his hand and begins to play The fairies who have come there for taking a holy dip are so much enchanted with his flute that they even forget to keep an eye on their clothes Krishna takes away all their clothes and climbes on the branch of a tree Perched there he continues to play on his flute The fairies pray to him to return their clothes He promises to do so provided they are ready to give Sidua back to Binjamati To this they agree and thus ends the episode

EARLY STONE AGE DISCOVERIES IN THE BANGANGA—BEAS REGION

R. V. Joshi

Chopper-Chopping Complex of Sohan

The discovery of chopper like stone implements of Early Stone Age in the Banganga valley in East Panjab (now Himachal Pradesh) in 1956 by Sri B B Lal attracted the attention of the prehistorians in India to this sub-Himalayan or Siwalik region which had hitherto not yielded any early human remains Till now the only area having known comparable Stone Age industries in this part of the sub-continent was in the Soan valley, a tributory of the Indus, in West Pakistan Here in 1937, De Terra and party had discovered chopper-chopping complex in context with the river terraces, which in turn had been correlated with the Pleistocene glacial sequence in the Kashmir valley and the Himalayas. This lithic industry is now known as 'Sohan' industry after the river Soan or Sohan

The components of this industry are the choppers scrapers and flakes with the characteristic absence of handaxe facies that are met within abundance in the Indian Peninsular region

Due to this peculiarity the Sohan industry is now regarded as an independent Stone Age culture different from the handaxe culture Its parallels have been traced in China (Choukoutein culture), Burma (Anyathian), Malaya (Tampanian) etc, in Asia and South-East Asia.

Like the Sohan valley, the Banganga also possesses the terrace formations cut in the Siwalik rocks of the area, and the stone implements occur in the terrace deposits The Banganga is a tributary of the Beas river—one of the Himalayan rivers—and for future prehistoric research in India it is well situated geographically not far away from the Sohan valley in the Potwar region of West Pakistan on the west and the Himalayan massif on the east

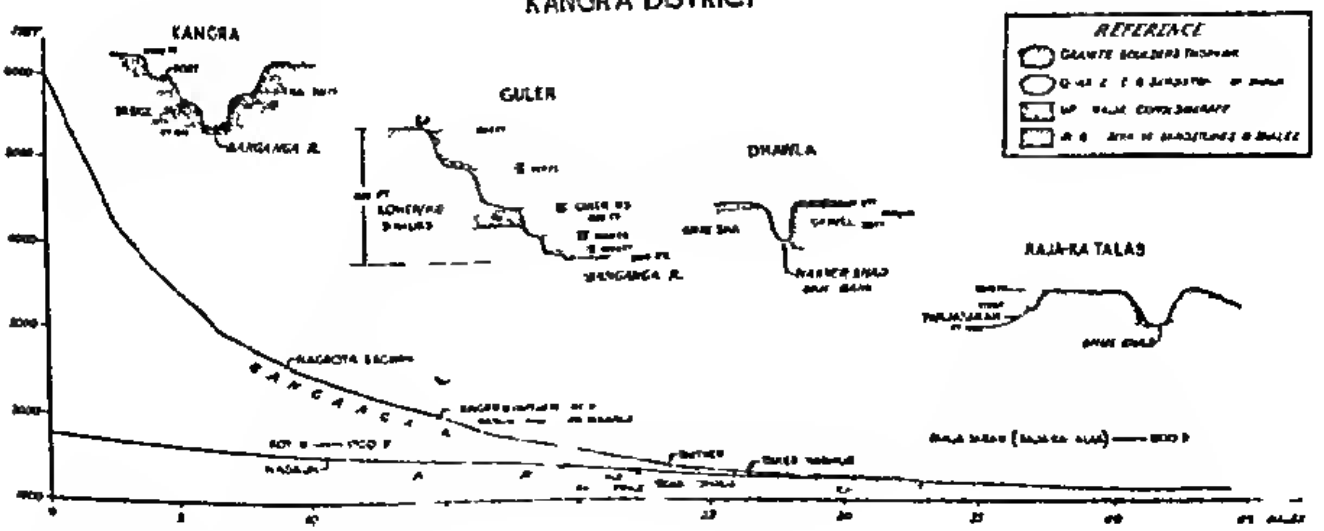
Although the Banganga valley had yielded chopper implements on its terraces, the terraces themselves needed further scrutiny to trace their origin and to see whether they can be correlated with the Pleistocene glacial phases witnessed in the Himalayas as had been attempted by De Terra in the Kashmir Valley and the Potwar Plateau This is necessary, for then only it would be possible to determine the age of the terraces and allied industries in terms of Pleistocene world events

Evidence of Glazier Movement

With these aims, in 1957, the Archaeological Survey of India, had organised a rapid survey of the Banganga river and the region in its upper reaches around Dharmsala The results obtained during this work were quite encouraging The Banganga terrace sequence was once again examined both from the geological and archaeological points of view The Guler and Kangra sites received careful scrutiny when a definite evidence of the glaciation was found in the form of granite boulders on the terrace T-3 at Guler at a height of 57 m from the present river bed The granite rock is erratic or foreign to Guler area which is

LONGITUDINAL PROFILES & SCHEMATIC VALLEY SECTIONS

KANGRA DISTRICT



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underlain by the sandstones and shales of the Siwalik age Similar occurrence of granite boulder deposit was noticed at Kangra The presence of such erratic rocks of large dimensions at heights above the present water level, is an indication of glacial activity, for these boulders can be deposited only by the moving ice and not by the water, which is weak for effecting such deposition even under flood conditions We had thus at least one evidence of glacier movement in the Banganga valley.

The higher terrace T_1 and T_2 lying respectively at heights of 204 6 m. and 131 m from the Banganga river bed at Guler, did not yield such deposit. A huge spread of large size boulders of quartzite and sandstone, however, is noticed on these as well as on the lower T_3 and T_4 terraces

A fresh collection of stone artefacts was made during this exploration but this was not much different from the one obtained by Sri Lal in 1956

The question of establishing definite correlation of the terraces with the Himalayan glacial phases, however, still remained unsolved This was, therefore, taken up by the Prehistory Branch of the Survey in November, 1966, for further enquiry

The work of nearly a month's exploration in the Kangra District brought forth more information For the purpose of tracing the extent of morainic (glacial) deposit previously encountered in the terrace T_2 as well as that of quartzite boulders occurring on T_1 and T_2 terraces at Gultr the region between Dharmsala and Baijnath was surveyed Excepting at Guler the loose and unassorted quartzite boulders were rarely met with within the Banganga valley Only a few were noticed near Samloti adjacent to the road towards Baijnath Stratigraphically, this boulder-bed appears to be the coarser facies of the upper Siwalik conglomerate occurring at Kaogra The Kangra conglomerate itself lies on the lower-middle Siwalik sandstones and a terrace has been developed on them This terrace also contains granite boulders as have been noticed on terrace T_2 at Guler Kangra lies about 27 km upstream of Guler We have thus been able to establish the relation and extent of quartzite and granite boulders in context with the terraces over this distance on the Banganga river

Evidence of Glacial Deposition

Above Kangra, the Banganga traverses a somewhat levelled tract, after emerging with a steep gradient through the Dhavaldhar hills in the north In most of the places, this level tract is made up of a thick glacial deposit of indeterminate age, containing huge boulders of granite and variety of metamorphic rocks and clays (boulder-clay deposit), and the Banganga and similar other streams have cut their courses through it exposing this material on the high cliffs on their banks

A massive spread of this material was noticed in the Banganga river bed a little above the township of Kangra In some respects its components appear different from those met with at 19 5 m above the river-level at the same place in association with the terrace deposit Thus there appears to be at least two levels (terraces) in the Banganga river valley yielding some evidence of glacial deposition A series of samples of the morainic deposits from different sites have been collected for petrological studies and it is hoped these investigations will

throw a flood of light on this vexed problem

Discovery of Handaxe Culture

During the same survey considerable progress was made in locating new Stone Age sites in the region In this respect the greatest achievement was the discovery for the first time of handaxe culture of Early Stone Age in the Banganga Beas tract at two or three localities

At the confluence of the Banganga and the Manuni Khad or the Patalganga near Kangra an almond type handaxe on banded cherty quartzite was found The Nakehr Khad, a tributory nala of the Beas, in the vicinity of the village Dhawala, about 10 km from Dera Gopipur, yielded a crude pebble hutted handaxe On another stream of the Beas—the Chumar nala around the village Kotla on the road from Dera Gopipur to Nadaun a collection of a cleaver and flakes was made The locality near Rajaka talab, situated about 10 km from Nurpur (Jessar) is very important It was here that as many as three cleavers and a few flakes and scrapers were obtained The artefacts collected at Kupar lahr, a small railway station near Kangra, consisted of small points scrapers perhaps of Middle Stone Age Besides the interesting finds of handaxe facies at the above sites at several places chopper implements were also found along with them

The most dominant Stone Age industry found at Guler, Dera Gopipur, and other sites in the Banganga-Beas region consists of unifacial choppers with rare occurrence of the chopping implements having the edge formed by bifacial (two directional) working The collection from Guler terraces is a representative of this group Here no implement of definite handaxe affinity has so far been noticed One or two specimens in Sri Lal's earlier collection were claimed to be crude handaxe types but as has been rightly cautioned by him these cannot be termed definite.

A Clue for Further Research

The discovery of the handaxe facies which is typical to the Peninsular India, in the Beas region of the Sub Himalayas has posed some interesting problems of the Early Stone Age in India What is the relation of the handaxe industry with the Guler industry with its uniface choppers, that is whether they belong to two different traditions of Early Stone Age? Whether their existence in close proximity indicates migration of handaxe culture from south to north? What is the relationship between the Quaternary glaciations and terrace formations and between the glaciations and the associated lithic industries? It is hoped that sustained work in this region will one day provide answers to these queries

TERRACOTTAS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

G. K. Sharotri

The art of terracotta or baked clay can rightly be called poor man's sculpture. Whereas the hard *medium of stone* was profusely used for carving out beautiful forms for the aristocracy, the soft and pliable medium of clay has been used in India by the common folk since times immemorial in shaping charming figurines. Both religious statuary and toys of an infinite variety were made by the Indian craftsmen which are valuable for the understanding of the religious and social life of the people. The abundance of material discovered from various ancient sites reveals that terracotta making was a popular industry. This art still survives in India as seen on festive occasions like Deepavali and Dussehra when a large variety of clay figurines are made and bought by the people for worship or decorating their homes.

An Ancient Art

Terracotta as an expression of art is met with in India *from the beginning of her* civilization. The earliest examples in the National Museum collection are from Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other allied sites which date back from c. 2500 B.C. These represent different forms of human, animal and bird figurines—all modelled by hand. Particularly, the abundance of the figurines of the Mother Goddess excavated from these sites proves that the people of this urban civilization were worshippers of the fertility cult.

The standing figure of the Mother Goddess with the right arm and the feet lost, is a good illustration of this culture She wears a fan-shaped elaborate headdress with appendages on either side, probably for storing grains She is decorated with ear rings, necklaces and a broad girdle The nose is pinched and the ornamentation done in applique, which are characteristics of early terracotta art The figure is completely modelled by hand

The Second Phase . Mauryan Period

After the extinction of the Harappan civilization in c 1500 B C, the next phase of terracotta art begins from the Mauryan period in the 4th-3rd century B C Mathura, Pataliputra, Ahichchhatra and Kausambi have yielded a rich harvest of terracotta art of this period The Museum has a few representative specimens of Mauryan terracottas, specially from the sites of Mathura and Ahichchhatra, which are all modelled by hand

Terracotta figurine of the Mother Goddess shown seated in European fashion on a high pedestal is a typical example of Mauryan art from Mathura She carries a child in her left lap while with the right hand she is pressing her breast to shower the milk of plenty She wears an elaborate headdress with three floral bass decorations, heavy double earrings necklace and other jewellery which are all applied by hand

The Sunga Period

During the Sunga period in the 2nd 1st centuries B C, terracottas began to be partly cast and partly modelled They were cast solid or hollow, and often painted red, pink, yellowish or black The jewellery and other ornamentation are often applied by hand Plaques showing amorous couples *yaksha* and *yakshi* figurines, with profuse ornamentation and elaborate headdresses and several other subjects both religious and secular, are found during this period Some examples from the sites of Chandraketugarh, Taxila, Ahichchhatra, Kausambi and Mathura are included in the museum collections

Terracotta plaque showing the scene of Udayana Vasavadatta's flight gives an idea of Sunga work from Kausambi in the 2nd century B C On the back of the elephant are seen seated Udayana holding the flute in one of his hands and the man behind the king is Vidusaka Vasantaka At the back of the elephant, a person is seen picking up the coins from the ground Vasavadatta is also seen sitting on the back of the elephant The plaque has a tiny hole at the top for suspension

Patronage of the Satavahana and Kushan Rulers

The Satavahana emperors who ruled in the South and Western part of India from about the 2nd century B C to the 2nd century A D, were great builders and studed their empire with several splendid monuments, both structural and cut out of living rock The artistry of their craftsmen in modelling beautiful forms out of clay can be seen in the terracotta figurines from the site of Kondapur in Andhra Pradesh, of which the Museum possesses a few examples

The Kushanas who gave a great impetus to Indian sculptural art in the 2nd century A D, also patronised modelling in clay The studios of Mathura were throbbing

with artistic activity and several icons of both Buddhist and Brahmanical deities were experimented upon The figural art of the Kushanas is infused with great vitality and power The Museum has a few examples of this period in clay from the sites of Taxila and Ahichchhatra

Kushan art was perfected and infused with a feeling of liquid grace, repose and gentle charm during the golden age of the Gupta emperors from the 4th to the 6th centuries A D Terracotta now began to be used extensively as an integral part of even the temple architecture of which fine examples are met with from the temple at Bhitargaon, etc The National Museum has terracottas of this period from the sites of Ahichchhatra Akhnoor (Jammu) and Harwan (Kashmir)

Terracottas from Ahichchhatra and Akhnoor

The two outstanding examples from Ahichchhatra are the life size image of the personified river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna standing on their vehicles the crocodile and the tortoise respectively The female attendant of each figure holds a parasol over the heads of the goddesses They hold a full vase in their hands symbolizing prosperity and plenty Their hair is beautifully arranged in schematic curls and they are adorned with profuse jewellery Their attire consists of a breast band a scarf and a lower garment with schematic drapery folds The deities have expressive faces and stand in a gracefully flexed pose

Another fine example of the Gupta art from northern India is the one from Akhnoor showing a female head with the face slightly inclined to the right The head is moulded and other parts are modelled by hand The hair is arranged in curls and parted in the middle The braid is bedecked with a garland richly decorated with jewels The face is infused with a deep emotion and a sensuous delight

The Medieval Period

Terracotta art during the medieval period was mostly practised in Bihar and Bengal The Museum has a few terracotta seals and bricks from Nalanda and terracotta figurines and plaques from the sites of Paharpur and Bangarh in Bengal (8th 12th centuries A D) These terracotta figurines continue the earlier Gupta art traditions and show the usual Pala characteristics in their aquiline noses graceful modelling elaborate ornamentation and draperies

On the whole, the terracotta collection of the National Museum, though numbering nearly 1 150 objects is not fully representative as examples from some of the important historical sites are still a desideratum Efforts are being made to bridge the gaps of periods and styles by way of exchange of art objects with other museums and through purchases.

CULTURAL ROUND-UP

Ministry of Education

Delegations

At the invitation of the Australian Government, Shri Inam Rahman, Secretary, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, visited Australia on the 26th April 1967 for two weeks

Under the Cultural Activities Programme of the Ministry and at the invitation of the organisers of the Theatre des Nations Festival, Paris, a Kathakali Dance Troupe from the Kerala Kalamandalam (Kerala State) visited Paris for participation in the Festival from 23 to May 27, 1967

Under the Cultural Activities Programme of the Ministry and at the invitation of the canadian authorities the following artistes/groups were sent to Montreal, Canada for participation in the 'India Week Celebration' during the Universal and International Exhibition of 1967 at Montreal, known as Expo, 67 from June 28 to July 4, 1967

(1) Pandit Ravi Shankar—Sitar (2) Ustad Bismillah Khan—Shahnai (3) Ustad Ali Akbar Khan—Sarod (4) Kathakali Dance troupe of the Kerala Kalamandalam, Chelu thuruthy, Kerala (5) Bharatha Natya Troupe of Kumari Yamini Krishnamurti

Shri Sombhu Mitra the distinguished Dramatist attended the 12th Congress of the International Theatre Institute held in New York from the 4th to 11th June 1967 This Ministry sponsored his visit to some of the East European countries under the Cultural Exchange Programme

Exhibitions

The exhibition of works of S/Shri Ram Kumar and M F Hussain was held in Prague during January February 1967

The Lalit Kala Akademi New Delhi sent eleven exhibits for participation in the IX-International Art Exhibition 'Tokyo Biennale, 1967', in March, 1967

The Exhibition of Indian Miniature Paintings was displayed in Vienna in March, 1967

The Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, sent its publications for display in the Pozaan International Fair, Poland held in June, 1967

An Exhibition on Indian Theatre compiled by the National School of Drama and Asian Theatre Institute, New Delhi, was sent to the Expo '67, Montreal

Cultural Exchange Programmes

A 2-member Hungarian delegation headed by H E Mr Janos Holnar, Deputy Minister of Education and Culture visited India from 1st to 11th April, 1967, in connection with the finalisation and signing of the Indo-Hungarian Cultural Exchange Programme for the year 1967-68 The programme was signed on the 5th April 1967

A 3 member Rumanian delegation headed by Mr Vasile Gliga, Deputy Foreign Minister, visited India from 9th to 15th May, 1967 in connection with the finalisation and signing of the Indo-Rumanian Cultural Exchange Programme for the year 1967 69 The programme was signed on 12th May 1967

An Indian delegation headed by Shri P N Kirpal Education Secretary visited USSR from the 15th to 21st May 1967 in connection with the finalisation and signing of the Indo Soviet Cultural Exchange Programme for the year 1967-68 The programme was signed on the 20th May 1967

Under Cultural Activities Programme of this Ministry two Mayors Mr M Y Nega, Mayor of Kampala and Mr Syveester Nathan Wanje, Mayor of Jinja (from Uganda) visited India in April for 2 weeks The Mayors visited Bombay, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Delhi, Agra, Chandigarh, Madras and Bangalore

Under item 21 of the Indo Rumanian Cultural Exchange Plan, 1965 67, a Rumanian Exhibition consisting of paintings by Bradut Vocahu was displayed at Amritsar in April 1967 The exhibition was later displayed at Delhi and Calcutta

In Delhi the Exhibition was inaugurated by the Union Education Minister on the 13th July, 1967

Indian Council for Cultural Relations

An exhibition of Czech and Slovak reproductions of paintings of 19th and 20th centuries and art books of Czechoslovakia was inaugurated at Azad Bhavan on 18th April The exhibition remained open till 25th April Some Czech art films were screened daily

The Council in collaboration with the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO sponsored an exhibition of reproductions of the 'Painted Churches of Moldavia (Rumania)' The Exhibition was inaugurated at Azad Bhavan on 29th June, 1967 Films of Rumanian folklore were also screened

Sangeet Natak Akademi

The Sangeet Natak Akademi observed the Bi-Centenary of Sri Tyagaraja during 1967 on an all India basis The Celebrations started in Delhi with a 3-day Music Festival on May 15 1967 The State Akademis and important cultural organizations

in Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow, Hyderabad and Madras are finalizing programmes in collaboration with the Central Akademi to celebrate the occasion The programme included music concerts, seminars on the life and works of Tyagaraja and competitions for young artistes in the compositions of Tyagaraja The Annual Conference of the Music Academy, Madras will be dedicated to the Bi Centenary Celebrations

A three-day Commemorative Music Festival featuring Smt M L Vasanthakumari (Vocal) Sri S Balachander (Veena) and Sri Embar Vijayaraghavacharlar (Harikatha) was presented at Delhi on the 15th, 16th and 17th May, 1967

A two day Seminar on the life and works of Tyagaraja was organized at Delhi on May 15th and 16th Among the participants were Sri T L Venkatarama Aiyar, Prof P Sambamoorthy, Prof N S Ramachandran Dr V K Narayana Menon, Sri T S Parathasarathi, Prof S Srinivasa Rao and Sri T K Jayarama Iyer

An Exhibition of photographs, manuscripts and publications on the life and works of Tyagaraja was also organized during the Celebrations The Exhibition will later be taken to other centres of Celebrations also

The Sangeet Natak Akademi sponsored a Lecture Demonstration on *A Structural and Formal Approach to Choreography* by an American Choreographer Miss Anna R Nassif, Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin on the 29th May, 1967 The Choreographer was on a study tour of India

The National School of Drama presented a festival of plays from 18th May to 31st May, 1967 The plays presented were 'Waiting for Godot', 'Andha Yug', 'Tughlaq', 'Antigone' and three One Act plays The Festival became an outstanding event of this year's theatrical season

Sahitya Akademi

The first meeting of the Akademi's Advisory Board for Maithili was held at Allahabad on the 15th May 1967 Dr A N Jha, Lt Governor of Delhi, took the chair

The Informal Literary Forum initiated by the Sahitya Akademi in the beginning of the year gathered further momentum during the quarter when several speakers entertained the literatures of the city with their illuminating discourses The Forum had five meetings during the quarter On 7th April Mr Gunnar Rydstrom delivered a lecture on *Swedish Literature in the Sixties*, on 27th April Sri Ashok Mitra spoke on *The Content of Progressive Literature* on 12th May Dr Fernando Tola of the Embassy of Peru presented a paper on *Abnormal Characters in the Tragedies of Aeschylus* on 30th May Sri Y S N Srivatsava of All India Radio, spoke on *Urvashi in Indian Literature* and on 9th June Sri Balwant Gargi an eminent Punjabi dramatist, who has just returned from a long teaching assignment in the U S A spoke on *Drama in the U.S.A*

Following publications were brought out during the quarter

Assamese Sanchayan (anthology of Assamese poetry) Compiled and edited by Dr Maheswar Neog Third impression, 1967

English History of Malayalam Literature by P K Parameswaran Nair

Translated from the Malayalam by E M J Vennıyoor, *Indian Litera ture* (Quarterly) Vol X No 1 and *Indian Literature* a literary quarterly journal (April June) Volume X No 2

Hindi Manomati translation by Lokenath Bharali of the Assamese novel by Rajanikant Bardoloi *Keshavsut* (monograph on the pioneer Marathi poet in the series Makers of Indian Literature') by Prabhakar Machwe (Second edition) *Rabindranath ke Natak* Volume II (select plays of Tagore *Raja Dakghar Mukta dhara* and *Raktakarabi*) translated by S H Vatsyayan P C Ojha Mukta B B Agarwal and Hazari Prasad Dwivedi (Fourth edition) *Muqaddama e Sher-o-Shari* (a treatise on poetry) by Hali Trans lated from Urdu by Hans Raj Rahbar Suresh Chandra Gupta and K B Zaman with a special introduction by Dr Nagendra and *Samasamayik Hindi Sahitya* (A survey of contemporary Hindi Literature since independence) edited by Dr H R Bachchan Dr Nagendra and Bharat Bhushan Agarwal

Tamil Mannum Manitharum Transla tion of the Kannada novel *Marali Mannige* by K Sivarama Karanth Translator T B Siddhalingaiah

Urdu Ghubar i Khatir Critical edition of the work by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad published as a part of his Collected Works Edited and annotated by Malik Ram

Lalit Kala Akademi

Universal International Exhibition 1967 Popularly known as Expo 1967 Montreal (Canada) This exhibition will remain open till 27th October 1967 The Indian partici pation in the art section of this exhibition organised by the Lalit Kala Akademi on behalf of the Ministry of Education Gov ernment of India is in the form of 34 paintings 8 graphics and 6 sculptures select ed from the permanent collections of the Ministry of Education and the Lalit Kala Akademi The Indian section also includes 9 plaster casts of Asian sculptures and a selection of 16 copies of frescoes covering Badami (Deccan) Bagh (Central India) Amber and Bairat (Rajasthan) and the Mughals in the Brijraj Swamy temple (Nurpur Punjab)

IX Tokyo Biennale The Akademi sent a small collection of 11 exhibits by four artists—Arun Bose Jivan Adalja L S Rajput A Ramachandaran—to IX Tokyo International Exhibition

IX Biennale De Sao Paule Indian sec tion to the 9th Biennale De Sao-Paule com piled by the Lalit Kala Akademi comprised 65 exhibits representing paintings by S/Sri Arun Bose Amba Dass J Sultan Ali Bal Chabda C J Anthony Doss P T Reddy Gautam Vaghela graphics by Sri Jagmohan Chopra and sculpture by Sri P V Jankiram Sri Mahendra Pande and Sri Najeibhai Patel

Exhibition of Akademi's Collection An Exhibition of Akademi's collection consist ing of paintings sculptures and graphics organised by the Akademi on the occasion of Education Minister's Conference was inaugurated by Dr Triguna Sen Union Minister for Education The Exhibition was on view from 29th April to 16th May 1967

'Contemporary Art of Rajasthan' Exhibition The Exhibition was held by the Rajasthan State Lalit Kala Akademi, in the Rabindra Bhavan Galleries and remained on view from 25th May to 30th May 1967

Unesco Activities

Exhibitions: An exhibition entitled "Painted Chruehes of Moldavia" has been received 4 from the Rumanian National Commission for Unesco for circulation in the country

On an invitation from the Canadian National Commission for Unesco to participate in an international exhibition of Education Philately under the title 'SCHO LATEX III" two entries from Indian students were sent for participation in the above exhibition.

Seminar on Twenty Years of Unesco Unesco Schools Organisation of India, New Delhi, an Associate member of the Indian National Commission for Unesco organised, with financial assistance from the Commission a Seminar on "Twenty Years of Unesco' at Bhopal from the 16th April to 21st April, 1967

Education for International Understanding—Teachers Workshop The Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco organised a Teachers Workshop at Simla from 21st May, 1967 to 25th May, 1967 for 38 institutions of Himachal Pradesh participating in the Commission's expanded programme of education for international understanding The workshop gave an orientation course to the teachers of institutions in the development of experimental activities in education for international understanding and cooperation centered round three themes learning about other countries, promoting respect for human rights, and teaching about the U.N and the Specialised Agencies

Birth Centenary of Sister Nivedita The Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco, has undertaken the organisation of the celebration of the 100th Birth Anniversary of Sister Nivedita which falls due on 28th October, 1967 In this connection the Commission has addressed a letter to all the non-governmental organisations associated with the Commission, institutions participating in the programme of education for international understanding and Unesco Information Centres/Clubs The Commission has forwarded to these institutions and organisations an article on Sister Nivedita and has recommended that the birth centenary may be suitably celebrated The various organisations are taking suitable steps in this connection

Bi Centenary Celebrations of Tyagaraja On the recommendation of the Madras State Unesco Committee, the Indian National Commission for Unesco undertook the celebration of the 200th birth centenary of Tyagaraja the great Indian musician and composer In this connection the Commission requested 31 non Governmental organisations which are its associate members to take suitable steps for the bi-centenary celebrations In addition the Commission has sent a brochure and sets of tape recordings of Tyagaraja's selected pieces rendered by eminent musicians to 15 National Commissions of the following countries

Nepal, Ceylon Burma, Malaysia, Afghanistan Australia Uruguay, United Kingdom USSR, USA, France Poland,

Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, Japan.

The Indian National Commission has suggested that the music of Saint Tyagaraja may be published and played abroad as this would help to promote greater understanding between countries The foreign National Commissions concerned have been requested to play these recordings for the benefit of those interested in Indian music or contacts in this field of cultural exchange

Renovation and conservation of temples in South India with particular reference to the temple of Sri Ranganathaswami, Srirangam Madras On a request from the Government of Madras, the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco requested Unesco for assistance for the renovation and conservation of Sri Ranganathaswami temple, Srirangam Madras Under a contract, Unesco provided the services of Mr Patrick A Faulkner, an expert in the field to advise the Government of Madras on the problem of renovation and conservation of the Sri Ranganathanswami temple Mr Faulkner visited India for about 3 weeks in October 1965 and has submitted a report on the renovation and conservation of temples in South India with particular reference to the temple of Sri Ranganathaswami Srirangam Madras

In his report Mr Faulkner has discussed the question of archaeological control of works on temples factors governing principles of conservation general principles of conservation the detailed applications of these principles to some temples with a special report on Srirangam temple

National Museum

The following objects were received as gifts by the National Museum during the period —

(a) Two hand fans made of bird feathers from Shri B N Luthra Adviser to the Government of Assam, and

(b) One Bark cloth or mattress (Anthropological Specimen) manufactured and used by Garo Tribes Assam, from Shri N K Banerjee through Mrs Nilima Roy, Research Officer, Office of the Registrar General of India

A set of 35 photographs of archaeological objects from the National Museum collections 10 of monuments together with 15 colour reproductions of miniatures were sent to the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, New Delhi on cultural exchange basis

Members of the American Women's Club New Delhi has made a very valuable gift of 21 volumes on Indian Art and Culture to the Museum Library

A special Exhibition of Recent Acquisitions—Indian Sculptures & Bronzes and Pre Columbian Art—has been arranged in the Changing Exhibition Gallery of the Museum and has been drawing crowds

Special Educational Programmes consisting of illustrated talks on Indian Art and Architecture and Films were offered to various groups that visited the Museum

A short training course was provided to the students of Museology from Baroda and Calcutta Universities who visited the Museum on study tours

Facilities were provided to Japanese scholars of the Tokyo National Museum for study and photography of the Central Asian Antiquities and the Miniature Painting Collections of the Museum

Madam Krishna Roboud a research scholar at the Musee Guimet, Paris and Mr Robert Skelton of the Victoria & Albert Museum London delivered illustrated lectures on *Central Asian Textiles & Islamic Jades* respectively in the Museum Auditorium

National Gallery of Modern Art

An illustrated lecture on *The Recent Developments in Contemporary American Art* was delivered in the Gallery in April 1967 by Mr Clement Greenberg a noted American art critic

One oil painting 'Portrait of Lady Illiot' by Bert Harris had been restored and two paintings namely 'Portrait of a Lady' by Ravi Varma and '*Haldi Grinders*' by Amrita Sher Gil are under treatment in the Restoration Laboratory

An offer of presentation of art books worth Rs 7,500 was received and accepted from the International Council of the Museum of Modern Art New York

Victorial Memorial Hall

With a view to a better appreciation of the documents relating to modern Indian history in this museum a series of lectures mainly on subjects relating to which documents are exhibited here was arranged in May and June 1967 The lectures were well attended and very much appreciated An illustrated guide book in English has been published

Indian Museum

Indian Museum extended all facilities to the West Bengal Medical Association, Calcutta Branch, to organise a "Health Exhibition" which was held at the Indian Museum for a period of 7 days with effect from 7th April, 1967

Photographs from Indian Museum were given on loan to an institution to organise a local exhibition

The Indian Museum has recently published the "Bulletin of the Indian Museum" Vol 2, No 1

Facility of guide service in the galleries were made available to 3,540 visitors during the period under report One popular lecture on Schools of Rajasthani Paintings was organised in the Indian Museum

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

The third anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru's death was observed with due solemnity at Teen Murti House on May 27

In the afternoon Shri M C Chagla Minister for External Affairs inaugurated an exhibition on the *Home Rule Movement* at Teen Murti House The significance of the exhibition is two-fold First it was exactly 50 years ago that Mrs Annie Besant the leader of the Home Rule Movement was interned in Ootacamund in June 1917 and secondly Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made his debut in national politics by joining the Home Rule Movement at Allahabad

The exhibition includes a varied collection of contemporary photographs of eminent leaders of the Home Rule League

copies of documents on the origin of the Home Rule Movement and the policy of the Government pertaining to it There are also on display copies of several letters of Indian leaders, newspaper reports propaganda pamphlets and mementoes of the movement

Salarjung Museum

Salar Jung Museum celebrated for the first time the birth day of the late Nawab Salar Jung III on 13th June 1967 as the staff welfare day The history of the late Nawab Salar Jung III was broadcast from the All India Radio, Hyderabad in Urdu English and Telugu

A temporary exhibition indicating the various aspects of the Nawab's life was arranged in the museum and it was declared open to the public by late Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung on 13th June 1967 in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering This exhibition was kept open to the public free of charge for a period of one month

Central Reference Library

The monthly issues of the *Indian National Bibliography* (volume 9 nos 6 & 7) covering the receipt of publications during June and July 1966 have been published

The Gujarati Fascicules (monthly) of the Indian National Bibliography (January June 1966) compiled by the Central Reference Library have been printed and published by the Government of Gujarat

Delhi Public Library

The adult members of the library organise themselves into different groups such as Drama and Music Group Literature Study Group Social Studies Group Television Group Health and Hygine Group etc and these groups meet once a week in the Library auditorium This auditorium, with a modern stage and a green room is also made available to the socio-cultural organisations on a nominal charge for conducting their cultural activities

The Social Education Department of the library arranges film shows, exhibitions lectures and annual competitions and prizes are distributed to the winners The autonomous working of the groups gives the participants an opportunity to develop qualities for public leadership and social responsibility To keep the members of these groups uptodate, book lists and clippings from the newspapers and periodicals are displayed on the boards under appropriate captions

Similarly cultural activities like Story Telling Film Shows Dramas News Hours etc are organised for the children members of the library

National Archives of India

During the quarter under report 1080 volumes and 507 bundles of records of the late Foreign and Political Department was received for custody from the Ministry of External Affairs Authenticated copies of 24 bills passed by the various State Legislatures and assented to by the President of India were also received 31 microfilm rolls of papers of Sir Robert Cowan chief of the East India Company's factory at Goa (1717 29) and Governor of Bombay (1729 34) were presented to the Department by the British Council London 19 microfilm rolls of Crown Representative s records and Residency files were obtained from the India Office Library London 402 books and

about 1055 issues of periodicals were added to the Library of the Department

429 files of the Political Department (1939-40) of the erstwhile Bhopal State and 132 bundles of records of late Foreign and Political Department were checked and chronologically arranged 8000 files of the Military Department (1838-47) and 4636 original consultations of the Madras Military Despatches (1832-59) were docketed

Further progress was made in the preparation of the descriptive lists of Persian Correspondence and acquired oriental manuscripts, catalogue of seals and index to *Algabnama* Descriptive listing of the private papers of Dadabhai Naoroji, Purushottam Dass Tondon and Lord Macartney was continued

The Department continued to render assistance to public and private agencies by supplying them with information required from printed and manuscript sources in its custody

As usual assistance and advice were afforded to a number of institutions and individuals in preserving their collections of books and papers

Archaeological Survey of India

Exploration—A short exploration was undertaken at Korkai (Distt Tirunelveli Madras) and its surrounding localities which resulted in the discovery of three habitation and an urn burial site In district Saharanpur ochre coloured pottery with some late Harappan finds was found in ten villages and Painted Grey Ware sherds in one village

Epigraphy—Of the epigraphs found during the quarter under review mention may be made of the following a Pallava inscription on one of Shore temples at Mamallapuram (Madras) a Sanskrit and Tamil Charter (Madras Museum) of Chera King Iravi Kodai, two records of Kumbhakarana-family (Thalnerz, Distt Dhulia Maharashtra) a Reddi copper plate grant from Pinapulla (Distt East Godavari Andhra Pradesh) a Charter of the region of Vijayanagar King Krishnadevaraya from Kilappaattu (Distt North Arcot, Madras), and a step-well inscription of the time of Ghiyasu'd-din Khilji of Malwa from Singhpur (Distt Guna, M P) besides certain donation-records in Brahmi of the 1st to 3rd century A D from Sannathi (Distt Gulbarga Mysore)

Preservations of Monuments—Repairs and reconstruction work, etc was carried out in the following monuments —

Tomb of Sher Shah at Sasaram Purana Qila, Delhi, Shri Erumbeswara Temble, Tiruverumbur, Distt Tiruchirapalli Sivaganga Little Fort, Thanjavur, Darya Daulat Bagh Srirangapatnam Distt Mandya, Bhatinda Fort, Bhatinda, Siva temple, Garh Distt Alwar

Temple Survey Project—A monograph on Cave Temples of the Deccan under Chalukyas Rashtrakutas and others has been completed Others on hand are Monoliths of Rashtrakutas at Ellora and Cave temple of Pandyas, Muttarayars, Cheras and others

Museum—The Archaeological Museum Konarak is being properly organized Ten gold coins of Krishnadevaraya found at Hampi were acquired for the Site Museum For Archaeological Museum at Bodhgaya

three Pala sculptures were obtained on loan from the Indian Museum, Calcutta

Anthropological Survey of India

During the period under review this Survey had carried out field investigations in connection with the following projects:—

1. Linguistic Study of the Bhuyan dialect.
2. Study of the Indo-Aryan tribal dialects—Malphariya dialect of Santhal Parganas and the neighbourhood.
3. Caste roles in a temple complex in Mysore State.
4. Ethnographic study of the Jenu Kurubas of Mysore.
5. The ecological and cultural adaptations of the various ethnic groups in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
6. Comparative Study of fisher-folk in coastal West Bengal and Orissa.
7. Impact of industrialisation in Tribal Chotanagpur.
8. Comparative Study of tribal solidarity movement in Chotanagpur and Assam.
9. Study of complex religious institutions—Caste and festival in South India.
10. Study of complex religious institutions—Vaishnavism in Bengal.
11. Ethno-musical Study of South Indian tribes.
12. Comparative Study of the Nomads : Mysore State
13. All India Anthropometric Survey.

Besides, a documentary film on the life of the Nicobarese was taken by this Survey.

NAGARJUNA'S PHILOSOPHY By K Venkata Ramanan, Charles E Tuttle Co, Inc, Rutland, Vermont, Price $ 10 00

While always stimulating, many of the great Masters tend to appear enigmatic as soon as an attempt is made to interpret them with any exactitude Like Kant, Nagarjuana marks a watershed in the development of Indian philosophy Nagarjuna's trenchant critique of earlier dogmatic philosophy and his use of the dialectical method are brilliantly expressed in his *Mula Madhyamaka Karikas* and the *Vigraha-Vyavartani* Both these works are available in the original Sanskrit and have been happily published with the result that this negative and dialectical side of Nagarjuna's thought is well known to scholars On the other hand, it has been frequently debated whether the meaning of *Sunyata* is purely negative The ancient Brahmanical tradition understood *Sunyata* in a purely negative sense and some modern interpreters of Nagarjuna have sought to uphold this interpretation On the other hand, under the inspiration of Japanese tradition, several modern commentators have read a kind of absolutism in Nagarjuna There are other variations too Stacherbatsky interpreted *Sunyata* as Relativity while Dr T R V Murti compares Nagarjuna to Kant On the whole Dr Ramanan tends to follow

Dr Murti though without bringing in Kant He seeks to present *Sunyata* as a many-sided principle which may be held at once absolutistic or relativistic since it denies the absoluteness of the relative "*Sunyata* as the mundane truth is relativity and conditioned becoming *Sunyata* as the ultimate truth is the unconditioned, this is brought to light, again, by rejecting through criticism the imagination of the ultimacy of the conditionedness of the conditioned " (pp 172-73) This might be put more simply by saying that at the level of causes and concepts all things are relative and conditioned but that this is not the ultimate truth The relativistic significance of *Sunyata* is brought out dialectically and can be called a critical doctrine The absolutistic aspect of truth, on the other hand, is essentially mystical and derives straight from the Prajnaparamita tradition Now Nagarjuna's conviction with this tradition is well known, and the *Mahaprajnaparamitasastra* is traditionally attributed to him Dr Ramanan has sought to present Nagarjuna's philosophy as presented in this Sastra His work is therefore in a direction of crucial importance in determining the true meaning of Nagarjuna and deserves to be particularly welcomed since the Sanskrit original of the *sastra* is no longer extant

Dr Ramanan presents the basic ideas of Nagarjuna from the Chinese *Ta Chi tu lun* and analyses them in the light of the context provided by the Sanskrit works of Nagarjuna Dr Ramanan writes in a clear and lucid manner and his work is a competent and significant addition to the modern literature on Nagarjuna His use of the *Ta-Chi tu lun* enables him to bring out the mystical absolutism of Nagarjuna—the religious side of the doctrine of *Prajna*—and thus supplement his (Nagarjuna's) usual one sided dialectical presentation on the basis of the *Madhyamaka-Karikas* alone It appears to us that the Mahayana *sutras* contain a unified doctrine which could be indifferently called *Vijnana vada* or *Sunyavada* The distinction between these schools arise with systematic criticism of Nagarjuna and Aryadeva, on the one hand and the systematic elaboration of the doctrine of spiritual intuition (*Abhisamaya*) on the other by Maitreyanatha *Prajna* thus became dialectical Reason on the one hand and mystical Experience, on the other It is this later difference of emphasis between the two schools which in retrospect tends to lend a more negative aura to Nagarjuna than really justified The study of *Ta Chi tu lun* is thus a real corrective to the usual study of Nagarjuna and Dr Ramanan's work fills a real desideratum and is sure to be warmly greeted by the scholarly world

It is a pity, however, that the author does not discuss the historically vital question of the attribution of the *Maha prajnaparamitasastra* to Nagarjuna The relevance of the evidence found in the *Sastra* to the doctrine of Nagarjuna will remain debatable till the attribution of the *Sastra* is properly defended Again on the relation of Hinayana Mahayana Nagarjuna and Buddha the work could have profitably utilized some more recent writings also than those of Suzuki and Kimura Dutt and Murti The exposition would also have benefitted the reader more if Sanskrit equivalents had been more extensively given as *e g* in Stacherbatsky's writings

G C PANDE

LIBRARIANSHIP ITS PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY By A K Mukherjee, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, Pp 220, Price Rs 22

While many of us, long in the profession, remain unreconciled to modern librarianship's claim to Science as the sphere of its activity we have before us, an Asia publication entitled "Librarianship its philosophy and History," by A K Mukherjee, in which the author exhorts its readers to discover its philosophy. But truly, if Science is defined as "ordered knowledge of natural phenomena and of the relations between them" and "Philosophy as criticism and elucidation of assumptions and ways of thought", no amount of exhortation by librarians is going to earn them the status of a scientist or a philosopher And indeed statements and quotations such as

"The term 'Librarianship' is equivalent to the term 'Library Science', and there should not be any confusion in this regard The definitions which follow leave no scope for such confusion Library Science is primarily concerned with the collection, preservation organisation and use of recorded communications 'J P Danton has defined librarianship as 'that branch of learning which has to do with the recognition, collection organisation, preservation and utilisation of graphic and printed materials' H W B Meyers has defined it as that branch of human knowledge which treats of the production, care and use of recorded human knowledge According to J L Wheeler, Librarianship is concerned primarily with books and other textual materials, their discovery selection, preparation and with increasing emphasis, their full utilisation by all classes and individuals, who have the intelligence to learn, and the gumption to seek information, recreation or self-development from them'" (pp 4-5) All these serve to render confusion worse confounded instead of strengthening the author's claim to the contrary.

Now, frankly, the present reviewer finds, in the above quotations, little justification to predicate science with librarianship The definitions are admirable in themselves as class room exposition of the functions of librarianship, but do they, in any sense, establish the claim that 'Librarianship' is equivalent to the term 'Library Science' What follows in the chapter called 'Background and the Image', aggravates, instead of alleviating, this confusion Consider for example this sentence

"If librarianship enjoins a knowledge of books and other textual materials, it induets an attribute of high bibliographical acumen, which is as much a part of scholarship as enjoined in any other established discipline" (p 5)

Read on the whole paragraph where the above sentence occurs and try to grasp the meaning or sense it conveys in support of the claim

Turning to the chapter entitled "The Philosophy of Librarianship" one is struck at once by this exhortation to the future librarian

"The discovery of the philosophy is the province of the philosopher and the librarian, therefore, should himself become a philosopher and find his own philosophy!" (p 9)

Surely, this is a tall order for the poor librarian who had better be on terra-firma

rather than try to soar into the giddy heights of speculation One could cite sentence after sentence and para after para from Chapters I to VII to illustrate the inadequacy of the author's premises in support of his inference that 'Librarianship' is a science or that it has a philosophy, but in the interest of brevity I shall content myself by quoting the concluding paragraph of chapter 2 (p 23)

"The philosophy of librarianship should not be taken in isolation of the general trends of human thought, pertaining to the cultural progress of man It has very much existed in the idea plane and its implications have been far reaching, for many people—prince, priest, scholar, teacher and philosopher have responded to this calling through the ages, a vocation which is as noble as any other, upholding the freedom of man to pursue knowledge and the pleasure that flows from it, un fettered un restricted and un inhibited It is not a part of librarianship—it pervades the gamut of it, it is librarianship itself, and "it has something indefinable which transforms it from a mere occupation into a way of life Those in whom the light burns brightly find that their work fills their lives abundantly, and brings its own satisfying rewards"

Presumably the author is confusing the end of librarianship with what he calls philosophy If not so, at least the authorities he quotes, have this in mind as they proceed with the definition of librarianship To interpret otherwise would tantamount to vitiating the purpose of the book namely, to serve as a handy and useful textbook of the history of librarianship through the ages Indeed, the chief merit of the book lies in its historical aspect rather than in its exposition of the subject as a science or a philosophy Already we find that exponents of 'Library Science' are turning away from librarianship in their attempt to reduce it to laws and canons of infallible certainty and exactitude We are being increasingly confronted by librarians who are mistaking the means for the end and are as far removed from the book as the bricklayer is from the contents of the brick he is laying The bricklayer can get away with his ignorance but the librarian who treats the book as a brick is forfeiting his claim to be a librarian Let us be humble in our calling and try to serve the reader in his search for information and knowledge Let us bear in mind while thus engaged that the fact of change is fundamental to our profession, that the means we employ are always subject to change as the end changes with the passage of time It proves nothing to claim "The librarians of technological field demands as a pre requisite a similar advance in culture and education, to enable the society at large, garner commensurate benefits from such advancement" (p 4) We will be judged by our service to the reader only if we develop an awareness of the changing needs of teaching and research

Nevertheless the author has filled a gap in library literature in the country by producing a highly informative history of Librarianship over the ages Teachers as well as students in our schools of librarianship have long felt the need of such a book, they have in the book under review what they need The author has made an extensive study of the subject and has painstakingly gathered valuable information on

the development of the library since man felt the need of preserving records first, of archives, and, afterwards of his intellectual and cultural heritage It is a fascinating story as it unfolds before us a panoramic view of man's march forward on the path of civilisation It is possible, while going through this story, to differ from the author in a few details without in any way detracting from its intrinsic worth For example, we have no evidence except for a double-column cuneiform tablet 2½ inches in length by 1½ inches in width which S N Kramer has deciphered and identified as the 'First Library Catalogue" "that the Sumerians had established private, religious and government libraries by 2700 B C" I know Sumer, but is there a Sumeria? As far as antiquity is concerned it is with the Assyrians in the 7th century B C that the real Library sees the light of day

Did "Assyrians exist at the same time as the Babylonians?"

The author's treatment of the Middle Ages is marred by a glaring omission namely, of any reference to the net work of great libraries which covered the Muslim world from Marv in eastern Persia to Cordova and Toledo in the heart of Spain in the 9th 11th centuries A D Baghdad Cairo, Holedo had large libraries under the Abbasid, Fatimid and Omayyad Caliphates respectively It is hoped that the author will make a note of this fact in the second edition of his book

While mentioning papyrus and parchment as writing material in the Middle Ages, the author ignores the appearance of rag paper manufacturing in 13th century Italy Similar factual lacunae can be pointed out in his treatment of the modern period But, as I have indicated, these are minor errors Finally, I would urge strongly a second look on the medium of expression which at times puts a strain on the readers' comprehension of the matter he reads

S BASHIRUDDIN

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ASSAMESE

Assam Sahitya Sabha, Jorhat

Assam sahitya sabha barsiki Digboi (ekotta-ratrimsa) sanmilan, 1964, ed by Mahesvar Neog Jorhat, the Sabha, 1964 vi, 160 p photos Rs 3 00
Addresses & reports

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Assam sahitya sabha barsiki, dvatrimsattam, Nalbari adhibesan 1965, ed by Hariprasad Neog Jorhat, the Sabha, 1966 vi 220 p photos Rs 3 00
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Addresses & reports

Gosvami Kumudchandra

Nritya Dibrugarh, the author, 1965 20, 5 p illus photos (part col) Rs 3 50

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A collection of essays on various aspects of Assamese culture written by different writers

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Anirban, pseud [Nirbanananda Sarasvati] and Satyananda Sarasvati

Vedanta-jijnasa Serampore, Rabindranath Bandyopadhyay, 1966 96 p Rs 2 00
Catechism

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Adhunik bamla sahityer sanksipta itibritta, 5th ed Calcutta, Modern book agency, 1963 xiv, 377 p Rs 6 50

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Aj ka Hindi-sahitya Delhi National pubg house 1966 viii, 24 p Rs 8 00

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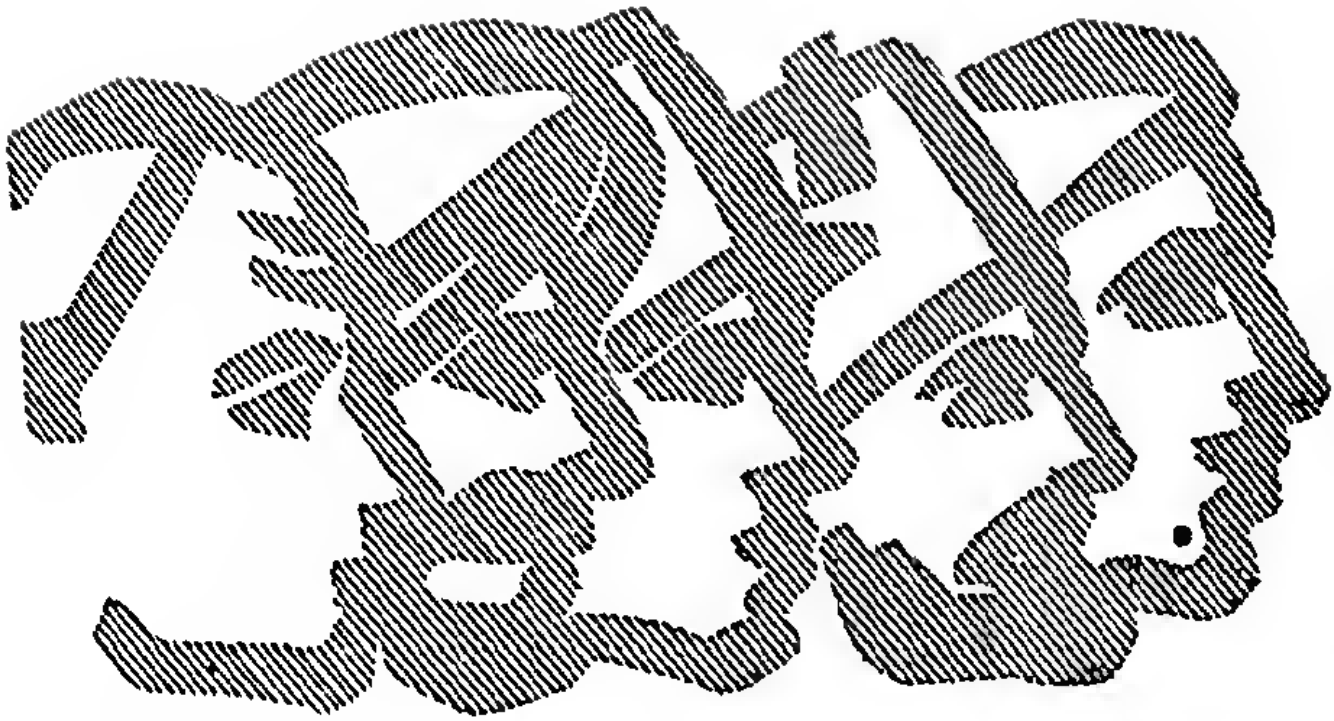

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